

# The Leader.

"THE one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

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## News of the Week.

It is not the meeting and talking about Reform which pleases us half so much as the general stir to prepare the people for resisting aggression. Last year the Premier got up an imaginary aggression, and did contrive to evoke something like a public manifestation to prepare that resistance which he has never seen fit to enforce. This year the threat of aggression has been less puffed for domestic use, but it is more real; and the feeling, if as yet less formally expressed, is evidently more general and more genuine. The journals of all parties join with it; excepting one or two, which scarcely venture to oppose, but insinuate qualifications in the Peace and Manchester school sense. Peace ought to have nothing to say against the movement, which is one to prevent our land from being made the scene of war. But besides the direct object of the stir to get up rifle clubs, to arm the People, improve the fortifications, summon the Channel fleet to its duty, and so forth, there is the agreeable incident of its uniting the severed sections of our population—an incident which we have already noticed, and which becomes more apparent every day. There is something heartily the reverse of that selfish and calculating spirit which has beset our public life too long.

Even the Reform agitation is improving under the influence of the Parliamentary Reform Association, as the policy of that body widens. We think we detect a continued disposition to desertion among some of its "friends" who wish to play a separate game; for the Manchester men take their aristocratic stand upon a ratepaying qualification, excluding "lodgers"; and Leeds is for the day misled by its own Baines; a charge for admission secured a "respectable" audience—and but narrowly rejected manhood suffrage. The success at Nottingham and Derby is due to the broader policy of the Parliamentary Reform Association; but that at Birmingham ought to be especially instructive. The two members were against the meeting. For Muntz—his costume, currency, and crotchets—who could account? But the defection of William Scholefield, though probably with a good-natured eye to Ministerial difficulties, causes a genuine feeling of regret. However, the two members stopped away, and protested against "extraneous" intervention, the meeting being truly spontaneous; nevertheless the Town-hall was filled. The meeting was better than unanimous—it was animated and hearty; and the broader policy of the Association more than succeeded, for the eloquence of George Dawson ended in securing the adhesion to *universal suffrage*! The bold policy is ever best. George Dawson has never been a demagogue or flatterer of the people; but in a community where every man, even the humbler he is, has to do the drudgery of the

nation—especially to pay the debts of the nation, and to defend it, if need be—he did not dare to say to any one such man, "You are excluded from the suffrage; you are of the kind unfit for it." And George Dawson does not dare so to say precisely because he is a bold man and a truthful man. The pretence of "unfitness" is a sneaking untruth. The Association makes no such pretence, and it appears to be gradually finding its way to that broad policy which would win for it everywhere such popular success as at Birmingham.

The strike of the engineer-employers continues, without the slightest prospect of reconciliation. The masters, by their agents, carry on the war with steady attempts to misrepresent the facts, with vituperation, with discharge of men not implicated in the quarrel, with threats that the business will leave this country. Possibly it may—by whose fault? Who really did strike? Meanwhile the men persevere in quiet adherence to their demands, and in their endeavours to establish coöperative model workshops. One will open in Southwark; another is contemplated at Manchester. Lord Cranworth's extrajudicial dictum against the men has been met by a brief and calm statement from the trustees of the working fund—Lord Goderich, Mr. Thomas Hughes, and Mr. Augustus Vansittart. Altogether, the progress of time presents the case of the men more and more favourably to the public.

There is a new strike, on the part of the men, among the shipbuilders of Hylton. It would be awkward if such demonstrations were to become general!

Ireland is again the field of industrial disturbance. The existence of a Riband conspiracy in the North is still disputed, but is specifically asserted by the *Dublin Evening Mail*, with strong corroboration from the known facts. There are proposals to increase the constabulary, and to try agrarian offences by the special jury panel—coercion, and trial of one class by another! The conference called by the Irish Board of Manufactures to consider, inter alia, the means of rendering the Poor Law self supporting by reproductive employment, is a far more hopeful process. Perhaps our Governors will hit on the right course in time?

Men in earnest generally adopt popular modes of disseminating their ideas and principles. Thus the High Church Party, represented by the Reverend Canon Trevor, appeared this week in the Metropolis, publicly lecturing, and converting the pulpit of St. Paul's, Finsbury, into a tribune for the occasion. Both Houses of Convocation also, we observe, are to be petitioned, and induced (if possible) to exert themselves for the recovery of their "Constitutional functions"—that is, solicited to make a stand for honesty's sake. This is well.

France has indeed fallen among thieves! Drained of her very lifeblood by the exile and proscription of her best and bravest citizens—of all her "illustrations" in arms and arts, in literature and states-

manship—ravaged and ransacked by a terrorism that spares neither age nor sex—that consigns to the ingenious tortures of torrid swamps unconvicted batches of political opponents—she is now, it seems, condemned to sink into the "old rut" of jobbing and corruption. We had always foreseen that the Dictator would fall between two stools—vested interests and popular expectations. Even were he disposed to originate large measures of social reform, or of mere financial economy, he would be arrested by the claims of the moneyed classes—the stockjobbers and speculators—to whom Louis Philippe sold himself as to a Mephistopheles; only your Mephistopheles of revolution is not so courteous in biding *your* time as well as his own! His demands are apt to be sudden.

Like a naughty boy who, having told one lie, is obliged to fortify it by many more, Louis Bonaparte is rushing from bad to worse with a fatal felicity of which, perhaps, he is scarcely conscious himself. Violence succeeds to violence—folly to folly—crime to crime. He cannot stir a step towards ameliorations without creating a host of malcontents. The enormous credits for public works to keep the faubourgs busy are eating into the heart of the Exchequer; not to speak of the increasing costliness of an Imperial "household," and donatives to unruly Praetorians. No one now believes that it can last. Our private letters from "Parties of Order," eschewing details, say, "Heaven only knows when or how it will end." The Prince and his men are using up the sensations of power like so many desperate gamblers, condensing into ever so few days all the atrocities of all the despotisms, and all the faults that have sapped all the régimes of the last half century in France—the iron-handed compression of the Empire, the bigotry and insolence of the Restoration, the jobbing and corruption of the Monarchy of July, seasoned and spiced with the reckless effrontery of professional burglars in possession of power which they once coveted, and now handle like a "strong box." As for the Constitution, it only wants a preamble, vulgar but sincere—"What's the odds so long as you're happy?" All the rest is but a pale copy of the Consulate. The difficulty will be to get any decent names to accept Senatorial or Legislative functions. It is not so noble to be perpetually "assisting at" your own interment.

The same discipline is applied to citizens and to the Press. Obnoxious persons and obnoxious papers are ordered to "cease to appear." But in the former case, the method and the consequence are not to be contemplated without shuddering. To have once belonged to a secret society—an elastic expression—is a sentence to Cayenne! The only choice lies between trans- and de-portation.

Meantime, M. Bonaparte and his friends are making a purse, before there is a Legislature to "hold the purse-strings." The gentlemen who once landed at Boulogne with a sick eagle and a case of bad champagne, would now, we suspect, be

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in a condition to take a bolder flight. Come the deluge when it may, their "mission is accomplished."

But taxpayers may well shrug their shoulders; they have got their order and tranquillity; what do they say to a little bill of £800,000 for refurbishing the Tuileries?

Louis Bonaparte coquets strangely with the Legitimists. Whether out of spite to the Orleanists, or to appease the manes of the Duc d'Enghien, or from a respect for the "principle of authority," we cannot say. Certain it is that the Nephew of Napoleon honours January 21st as we do the 30th of this month. Louis Philippe could never afford to recognize that "blessed martyr"—to his own fatal incapacity and indecision—poor Louis XVI., to whom we do not refuse a thought of sympathy; but in going out of his way to be generous, Louis Bonaparte will not conciliate the Royalists, and he will disgust the mass of the population.

At Berlin and at Madrid the initiative of Paris is taking root: the prevailing tendency is to get rid of Constitutionalism and of talking houses. In the one case the Chamber has been warned not to discuss the acts of Government. In the other the press is well nigh extinct.

Kossuth has been received by Congress, and formally welcomed. In other respects the news from America is checkered; but it is upon the whole satisfactory. Judge Douglass disappoints us by declaring that he will form no alliance with England until she do "justice to Ireland"—which is, in truth, "neither here nor there." It is evident that Judge Douglass is not yet alive to the wide distinction between Downing-street and England. Others are more hearty; and old General Cass had declared that he was ready to support in Congress a resolution in favour of the "hands off" policy—the policy of maintaining a real non-intervention and a real independence for each nation. We see the same spirit manifested in all parts of the Union, even in Philadelphia, where Colonel Small and Judge Kelly came out vigorously, and Louisiana, where Kinkel was getting on with his German loan. Ten months alone has America conceived the idea that she is the leader of National Freedom even for the Old World, and she is already "big with glorious great intent." Yes, the work of sowing has been done, and effectually; the harvest will be one worth waiting for, though it were to wait ten times as long as we shall.

#### LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

##### LETTER IV.

Paris, Tuesday evening, January 20, 1852.

Well! The Constitution has made its appearance. It is pretty nearly what I had told you to expect. You know its terms; so I may content myself with a word or two on its characteristics. It may be described in a sentence. It asserts the rights of the President—it completely ignores the rights of the nation and of citizens. All its provisions are *against* the nation—none of its guarantees in favour of the nation. All is illusory in the Constitution of the 14th of January. We are to have but the dumb shadow of a Parliament in place of the reality. The power of making laws is removed from the legislative corps, which is a legislature only by name. A Council of State, nominated by the President, prepares and elaborates the drafts of bills. The legislative corps votes on these bills by "Ayes" and "Noes." Next comes the Senate, with its absolute right of veto to cancel and annul the deliberations of the legislature. Now, this Senate being nominated by the President—the legislative body, the living expression of the national voice—becomes less than a nominal power. The President absorbs in his own person the nation and the national representatives—a dead People and a dumb Parliament. Let me tell you how this Napoleonic Constitution has been received by the different classes of society.

The banks, the shops, the mercantile men, the stock-jobbers and money-mongers—all, in a word, who imagine that God has created man to eat and drink, to put money in his purse, and "then an end"—clap their hands with joy: they rejoice at being delivered from political agitations, and from the discordant intrigues of the two rival powers—the Parliamentary and the Executive. The higher classes, on the other hand, accustomed to govern the country by majorities, signify their discontent audibly, because the Constitution robs them of an influence they had always exercised. The journalists are dissatisfied at the silence of the Constitution respecting the liberty of the press. The functionaries are displeased at Art. XIV., which prescribes an oath of obedience to the Constitution, and especially an oath of fidelity to the President. But it is the army that this clause offends most violently. Many of the officers (not to say all) believed they were fighting for France, for

their country; and lo! they find they have risked their lives, and sacrificed their position, for one man! This situation humiliates them; and they do not scruple to manifest their feelings aloud. So formidable is their opposition, that Bonaparte is already thinking seriously of revising his Constitution, and of urging the Senate to abolish Art. XIV., which reimposes the oath. An old magistrate who, for his part, has lived long enough to swear fidelity to eight different governments, said that this article was a seed-plot of perjury. Even the Bourse "started" at the Constitution. More enlightened in general than the tradesmen, these men on 'Change have begun to understand that it is the public liberties which have been sold to pay the expenses of the campaign against "Socialism;" and they are alarmed to find themselves isolated, disarmed, burked, robbed of every guarantee, in presence of one man's self-will, armed with absolute governmental omnipotence. So that the promulgation of the Constitution was hailed by the Bourse with a considerable fall in prices, and with a sudden chill in business. The political world, in fine, composed of men who look beyond the men and things of the moment, discern how frail is this "edifice" of the Constitution. The President has recoiled from the creation of the First Consul. In the Constitution of the year VIII. it was the Executive that nominated the legislative corps. The operation was on this wise. The citizens of each commune nominated a list of Notables of the Arrondissement; these, again, formed a list of Notables of the Department; these last, formed a third list of Notables of the Republic—for that form of government was likewise called "Republic." Then came the Senate, nominated by the First Consul. The Senate selected from the third list the names imposed upon its choice by the First Consul; and the result was what was called "The National Representation." The work of the First Consul was logically consistent; this President botches it. The Constitution of the 14th of January does, in effect, leave to the country the direct nomination of the legislative body. By this fact alone it creates antagonism between the President and the nation. During the first period, the *ascendant* period, the legislative corps will remain mute. But let the President once have lost the prestige of novelty, the legislative body will gain, in the sight of the nation, all the importance which the President will lose. All the favour that now attends on the latter will pass over to the former. The nation will recover its own self-consciousness—consciousness of its rights—and Louis Bonaparte will find himself alone, face to face, with the legislative body, backed by the entire nation. The situation will be once more the same as it was before the 2nd of December. Then, in vain, will M. Bonaparte attempt to better his position by another act of treachery or violence. The nation forewarned, will not risk another midnight surprise, all defenceless, as on the 2nd of December.

Such is the future the political world predicts—on the supposition, of course, that no other accident interpose. The result is so easily foreseen that already all parties are in motion to "work" the elections. The Government itself has lost confidence. Notwithstanding the Bonapartist vote of the 20th of December, it begins to fear that local influences may elect candidates unfavourable to its pretensions. The Legitimists, especially, are working the electoral ground indefatigably. They are anxious to take advantage of the folly they have had the skill to make Louis Bonaparte commit—of sparing them. It is positive that, if the Legitimists obtain a majority in the legislative body, representing as they would, in that case, the nation, they will gain immense popularity—enough to submerge the President irretrievably. Besides, it is not only the nomination to the legislative body that parties will fight for; candidatureships for the Council of State and for the Senate are not less eagerly pursued. Louis Bonaparte will be cheated by the mask of Bonapartism which good numbers of Legitimists and Orleanists have assumed. It is, therefore, impossible for him to avoid "stocking" the Senate and the Council of State with his own enemies.

Among the "proper names" already designated for the Council of State, I have heard MM. Billault, Delangle, and Brinvilliers, two Orleanists and one Legitimist, mentioned. The nominations to the Senate are to appear immediately. The army is largely represented in its construction. The names of several generals who took part in the late events, and of a few of the old peers, are mentioned.

Twenty-five generals are named for the "honour;" among others, MM. Lariboisière, General of Artillery, the Generals Preval, Magnan, Ornan, Castellane, le Duc de Bauffremont, M. de Mortemart, le Duc de Mouchy, Legitimists; and a few personal friends of the President. M. Chasseloup-Laubat and M. de Beauveau, are also mentioned, &c., &c.

The old King Jerome, whose pecuniary straits are known to all the world, and whose pay as Marshal of France is insufficient for his wants, is designated for the Presidency of the Senate. His salary, in this capacity, would be imperial. But as the recollections of Majesty would not permit King Jerome to preside over any assembly unless it were an

assembly of kings, he will content himself with taking the emoluments, and leave the duties of the office to the Vice-President. Excepting a very few names, the Council of State and the Senate can, and will, only be made up of political mediocrities and social nullities. The Emperor Napoleon, a man of genius, was not afraid of superior capacities; far from this, he surrounded himself with them, he absorbed them, he assimilated them. All men of talent were drawn into the sphere of his attraction, like planets round a sun. It is not so with Louis Napoleon. A commonplace man, he is far from exercising that magnetic influence which is the privilege of genius. He can only rally to his cause a host of mediocrities. This is precisely what we see. Around the President a blank, with the exception of a few functionaries wholly devoted to—their salaries, he stands alone, a lonely man. All the men of eminence, all the illustrious names of the country, are in exile, struck by decrees of proscription, or, self-banished to seclusion on their country estates, they have forsaken for awhile political affairs. M. de Lamartine himself, profoundly humiliated at his country's degradation, has resolved to leave France, and to repair to the East, to the domain near Smyrna, which the Sultan has given him.

This void around him Bonaparte thinks to fill with soldiers and functionaries. He spares the army no flatteries. He promises the generals war. "Has he not a 'mission' to baptise the eagles he has restored to the army?" The army, therefore, reckons on war. To deceive this expectation were too dangerous, in the situation of Louis Bonaparte, for him to run the risk. The probability of war, then, is the common report. Last Saturday, as some sailors were receiving their discharge at Havre, the Naval Commissary made use of these significant words:—"You won't enjoy your discharge very long; in two months you will be recalled; in two months we shall have war." In another direction Louis Bonaparte is using efforts to gain over the magistracy. He attacks their weak side—the *side of the purse*. He is going to augment all their salaries. The Councillors of the Court of Cassation will have 15,000f. instead of 12,000f.; the President, 40,000f. instead of 30,000f.; the Councillors of the Court of Appeal, 10,000f. instead of 8,000f.; and the First President, 30,000f. instead of 25,000f.

Unable to attach persons to his cause, Bonaparte seeks to attach classes. He has the pretension to conciliate the noblesse. A law is already announced for the reestablishment of titles of nobility abolished by the Revolution of February. Louis Bonaparte, in fact, desires to resume the plan followed by the Restoration and by Louis Philippe; by the one towards the bourgeoisie, by the other towards the noblesse; that is to say, to reconstitute large fortunes by means of monopolies. To this end, the Restoration created duties on iron and coal to enable the nobility, who were then the sole proprietors of the mines and collieries, to realize high profits at the expense of the entire nation. Louis Philippe pursued the same system towards the farmers and the financial aristocracy. The farmers were indispensable to him in the elections. He used to kill two birds with one stone. Through the company of Darblay, Rothschild, &c., he would purchase wheat at good prices; as their wheat always found buyers, it suited the farmers very well to vote with unanimity for the best of Governments.

The Darblays and the Rothschilds made dear purchases, it is true; but they had the privilege of forestalling the corn-market (La Halle) of Paris. The factors of the Halle were bought over to complete devotedness to them. The great manufacturers, on the other hand, were specially "protected" by the customs' duties, which assured them not only the national market, but a monopoly of unjust profits at the expense of the nation. This system was stigmatized under the name of *Exploitation*. It was, in fact, the organized jobbing of a few privileged speculators at the expense of the mass of consumers. From such a system arose at length an immense protest against all monopolies and privileges, and against *exploitation* in every form. This Protest took the name of *SOCIALISM*. At the present moment Louis Napoleon flourishes before Europe as the exterminator of Socialism. The logic of facts is driving him to set up again more unblushingly, more vigorously than ever, the very system of jobbing and monopoly that compassed the fall of Louis Philippe. Inevitably, then, the PROTEST against this jobbing which is to be conducted on a larger scale than formerly, will manifest itself under a form more emphatic than it has ever yet assumed.

I have already told you, in a preceding letter, how a financial monopoly had been reorganized on the occasion of the Lyons Railway concession, which, for the first time in France for sixty years, was granted without control, without adjudication, without publicity. Now, the wheat monopoly is already reestablished. The flour of which M. Darblay has got possession, and for which he has secured the privilege of forestalling the central corn market of Paris (La Halle), are quoted at higher prices, quite independently of the prices of wheat; hence this singular phenomenon—slow and gradual rise in grains, rapid rise in flours. On the 2nd of December, bread



was at ten sous and a half in Paris, it is now at twelve—a tax of 15 per cent. upon the mass of consumers, to fill the pockets of the farmers in the neighbourhood of Paris. Now the manufacturers must have their turn. To gain popularity, Louis Bonaparte would have to lower progressively the customs' duties; but far from this, in all the various deputations he receives, the manufacturers demand the maintenance of "protective" tariffs; and Bonaparte accedes to these demands. This system, you perceive, compels Bonaparte to foster every abuse; had he the power to get rid of them all, he would not use it. The logic of his position is more absolute than he. M. Fould, Minister of Finance, had devised two grand measures; the first was to substitute the Bank of France for the Receivers-General in the collection of the public revenues, and thereby to realize a vast economy in the public service, and to concentrate an amount of specie in the coffers of the Bank. The Receivers-General petitioned Bonaparte in person. Bonaparte took their part against M. Fould; in other words, he sacrificed the public good to the claims for a few personal interests. M. Fould was also desirous (as I think I have told you) to convert the Five per Cents into Three per Cents. For this purpose he was "pulling" the funds by artificial stimulants. His object was to get the Three per Cents up to 75, and then to offer to holders of Fives, Threes at 75, which would represent Four per Cents. This would have been a great economy to the Treasury, and a measure of high public utility. Well! the holders of Fives, alarmed at M. Fould's project, "entered" a complaint to the President, who at once signified to M. Fould to desist from his plan. In all things, and on all occasions, Bonaparte is compelled by the fatality of his position to sacrifice the public welfare to the interests of a few privileged persons. It is this opposition to the Minister's plans that induced M. Fould to offer his resignation. Hence the reports of a Ministerial crisis, which are still, and will long be, prevalent.

Do what he may, then, Louis Bonaparte is condemned to helpless impotence. Every time he desires to destroy an abuse he is met by vested interests, which declare themselves the sole support of his authority; and, in the face of their remonstrances, he stops short. It is still the old rut into which Government after Government has fallen, and been overturned, in France.

In the meantime, Louis Bonaparte silently pursues his design of an Imperial Restoration. A secret circular has been addressed to all the public functionaries, "inviting" them to designate him in their letters and in their official documents as "Prince," and to give him the title of "Monseigneur." The reports of the Ministers to the President now carry these designations. Another circular invites all the authorities in the departments to rechristen the streets of provincial towns which had received Republican names, and to restore their monarchical titles. The same measure, having been applied last week to Paris, is made general.

The Palace of the Tuileries is being restored. A first credit of 200,000 francs (£8000) has been appropriated to this object; but the "Court circle" persist in insinuating that the condition in which Louis Philippe left the Palace is quite unworthy of the "Chief of the State"; and that to restore it as it ought to be restored will require a very large sum to be expended. Something even "richer" remains to be told. The furniture of the Tuileries belonged to Louis Philippe, who took it away. There remains, then, no other furniture in perspective but that of the Empire. Now, this furniture is so execrably ugly, so meagre, and bare, in comparison with the sumptuous style of our epoch, that the courtiers recoil with shame from the idea of relapsing into the worn-out *défrôge* of the Empire.

To completely refurnish the Tuileries would cost not less than from fifteen to twenty millions of francs (from £600,000 to £800,000)—a sum calculated to inspire serious reflections on the trifling inconveniences of an Imperial Restoration!

The Reign of Terror continues in Paris and in the departments; the proscribed representatives have received notice to quit the French territory within twenty-four hours. In consequence of this order, MM. de Girardin, de Lasteyrie, Creton, Chambolle, and all included in the same category, left Paris on Wednesday last for Belgium. The representatives "of the Mountain," who had been confined at St. Pélagie, have also been conducted to the frontiers by police agents.

The seven representatives condemned to transportation have been shipped off, as well as 458 others. The latter were the first batch for Cayenne, but the violent gales in the Channel drove the transport into Cherbourg.

Fresh lists of proscription are still ready to appear, as I had informed you. They are only delayed to allow the emotion produced by the former ones to subside. On these new lists three classes of prisoners are said to figure:—

1. Public writers. MM. Solar, Forcade (of the *Messenger de l'Assemblée*), Caylus, Duras (of the *National*), Alfred Nettement (of the *Opinion Publique*), Jules Martinet (of *L'Ordre*), de Reims, &c.

2. Functionaries who served the monarchy of July; among whom are mentioned MM. de Haussenville, Piscatory, de Pontalba, &c.

3. Friends of the princes of the house of Orleans. MM. Paul Daru, Albert de Broglie, &c. &c., all Orleanists. Apropos of the princes of the house of Orleans, it is positively in contemplation to send to the *Moniteur* a decree of confiscation of the property of the Orleans family. This property would serve as an indemnity to the Bonaparte family. Shall I tell you of a thousand other revolutionary measures? The journal *L'Ordre* (about which I mentioned last week the warning bestowed on the chief editor) has been suppressed. The order was, to cease to appear. The closing of cafés and cabarets continues. Even shops for cheap grocery have been sacrificed to the rigours of the Government, because they bore the name of "associated shops."

A decree has suppressed the association ("pour la vie à bon marche"), a sort of Redemption Society's Store at Wassighier (Aisne). The result is that the people must buy dear, that they must cease to have a conscience, and that the working classes must be victimized by high prices on the first necessities of life.

Arrests go on without intermission. Madame George Sand has been arrested at her estate in the Department de l'Indre.

In the Cote d'Or, at Montbas (the country of Buffon), forty-eight persons have been arrested under pretext of having formed a secret society. The number of persons arrested in the Saône and Loire is 467. The insurgents of the Var are 1198 in number, confined in the Fort Lamalgue, at Toulon. But the number of those who are in flight, and against whom arrest-warrants have been issued, is reckoned at 8000. In a private letter, I am told that the number of persons who took part in the resistance in the Departments of the Var and of the Basses Alpes, is so considerable that agriculture is failing for want of labour. On certain estates in the South the olives are rotting on the trees for want of hands to pick them. A decree of the general in command of the Basses Alpes confirms the fact by the rigour it displays.

1. Within three days soldiers will be billeted on guard in the houses of all persons who have taken flight.

2. Within ten days their property will be sequestered.

3. Any person who shall have given shelter to an insurgent will be considered an accomplice in the insurrection, and liable to be shot.

A new decree has just suspended the reorganization of the National Guard in the departments. The entire mass of the population is to remain disarmed at the disposal of the Government. The "terror" is universal and incredible. Even the working classes are affected. They are beginning to emigrate. The Association of Tinplate Workmen (*ferblantiers*), and a fraction of that of the Cabinet-makers, whose furniture was so remarkable at the Great Exposition, have already concluded negotiations with American capitalists. If the movement continues as it has begun, if artists, literary men—the thinkers and the workers—are forced to emigrate, the revolution of the 2nd of December will have entailed consequences as disastrous as the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

Now that the press is mute, it is the salons that constitute the Opposition. This drawing-room resistance causes serious uneasiness to the Government. Madame de Rémusat and twenty other ladies, the wives of distinguished representatives, have kept up an incessant fire of quiblets and pleantries against the Government of Louis Bonaparte. To silence this fire, Bonaparte had no other resource than to strike the representatives themselves, and so to attack the wives through their husbands.

The list of Senators and Councillors of State (such as it is) is daily expected. S.

#### CONTINENTAL NOTES.

Our Correspondent's letter leaves little to be added by way of illustration of the present deplorable condition of France. In the Minister of the Interior's Electoral Circular to the Prefects, "cynicism and hypocrisy"—which we have more than once described as the seasoning of all the acts and documents of the coup d'état—are pretty exactly mingled. For the latter quality, take this paragraph:—

"Nevertheless, as the Government is firmly decided never to use corruption, direct or indirect, and to respect all consciences, the best means of securing to the legislative body the confidence of the population is to call to it men perfectly independent by their situation and character."

Of the former, though a comparatively mild specimen:—

"As soon as you shall have indicated to me in the conditions above-mentioned the candidates who appear to you to have the best chance of uniting the majority of suffrages, the Government will not hesitate to recommend them openly to the choice of the electors."

Of both:—

"Formerly, when the suffrage was restricted, when the electoral influence was divided between certain families, the abuse of these influences was odious. A few ill-deserved decorations—a few places—were able to se-

cure the success of an election in a small college. It was natural that this abuse should revolt consciences, and that the abstinence of the administration from all ostensible interference should have been insisted on. Its action, its preferences, were then occult; and by that very reason compromised its dignity and authority. But at the present time, by what favours is it to be imagined that the Government could seduce this prodigious number of electors? By places? The Administration of France has not cadres sufficiently vast to contain the population of a canton. By money? Without speaking of their honourable susceptibility, the whole public treasure would not suffice."

Then follows an ungenerous allusion to Cavaignac, not in the best taste, as against a fallen opponent—a description of "public opinion" which it would be well for the *signer* of the Circular to study.

"With universal suffrage there is but one powerful immense spring, which no human hand can compress nor turn from the current that directs it; that spring is public opinion; that imperceptible, indefinable sentiment which abandons or accompanies governments, without their being able to account for it; nothing is indifferent to universal suffrage; it appreciates not only acts, but it guesses tendencies; it forgets nothing, forgives nothing, because it has, and can have, but one moving principle, the egotistical interest of each individual; it is sensitive to everything, from the great policy which emanates from the chief of the Government, down to the minutest proceedings of local administration; and the political opinion of a department depends more than may be thought upon that spirit and conduct of its administration."

The Correspondent of the *Daily News* writes:—

"So great is the horror of the Government of all free circulation of opinion, that a decree has just been issued by the Prefect of Police, prohibiting manufacturers and vendors of printing presses, lithographic presses, and copying machines, from selling the above 'dangerous machines,' without taking down the name and address of the buyer, which name is to be immediately communicated to the Commissary of Police of the quarter. This regulation will be very effectual in deterring those who might be disposed to write circulars to the free and independent electors in favour of any Opposition candidate."

A railway from Bordeaux to Bayonne is in contemplation. The line from Paris to Strasburg will be opened in August. The journey by quick trains will take from ten to twelve hours.

Colonel Charras, Captains Cholat and Millotte, expelled representatives, are struck off the lists of the army. The decree of the Provisional Government of March, 1848, which reduced volunteer service from seven to two years, is repealed.

General Cavaignac's request to be placed on the retired list of the army has been granted by the Minister of War.

The Duc de Beaufremont is said to have indignantly refused the office of Senator.

The President has applied to Vienna for the removal of the remains of the Duc de Reichstadt (buried in the Imperial Chapel) to Paris. The consent of the Austrian Government has been given.

It is said that M. de Persigny will proceed to England on a special mission. What can M. Fialin de Persigny have to do here? To spy out the nakedness of the land? or to study the refugee question? or to shake hands with some of his old friends among the refugees of '48?

From Madrid we learn that the recent military riot has been quelled; but not a few suspected generals have been ordered away from the city, and some banished.

The following is extracted from a letter dated Vienna, January 13, 1852:—

"You are aware that our Consul-General in Serbia is particularly obnoxious to the Austrian Government, and that his blustering Highness, Prince Schwartzberg, 'registered a vow,' that both Mr. Fonblanque and his French colleague (M. Limperani, a cousin of the President Louis Bonaparte), should be driven out of Belgrade. Hence all the attacks upon the consular dwellings and persons, and the calumnies in the Austrian newspapers against the honourable officers just named. The end of all this is drawing near, for I learn from Constantinople that the Turkish Government has resolved to sustain the provincial representatives of the Powers most closely allied to the Porte, and that ample satisfaction will be given for the attack made upon Mr. Fonblanque last autumn. On the other hand, it may be supposed the Austrian and the Russian consulates in Serbia are doing all they can to encourage and exasperate the aggressors, and are unceasingly urging the celebrated canon of a Servian primate—'The English fleet cannot come up the Danube.'"

"In a recent number of the Vienna *Lloyd* there has appeared a notice to the following effect, dated Belgrade:—Mr. Fonblanque, the English Consul-General, made—contrary to the usage of all other consuls—no personal visit to the Russian Resident on the Emperor Nicholas's birthday, but sent up his card from the carriage, which he caused to drive to the door of the house. The Russian Consul sent back the card, with the remark that on that particular day he only received personal visits. Mr. Fonblanque, highly incensed, tore the card, and sent a note demanding satisfaction. Now the visible intention of this statement—which is true as far as it goes—is to create a belief that the British agent attempted to put a slight on the Russian agent on a national occasion, and had consequently acted in an ill bred and impolitic way. But a letter received from Constantinople supplies the suppressio veri of *Lloyd's* Belgrade correspondent, and places the matter in a

perfectly different light. It appears that the hotel taken on lease for the British Consulate-General was previously occupied by several tenants, all of whom received long notices to quit at the expiration of the term. One of the lodgers, however, said he would only go out when he thought fit; that he was a Russian, and defied the Turks or the English to eject him; so he locked himself in, abused the police, and prepared to stand a siege. Mr. Fonblanque of course addressed an official note to the Russian Consul-General, but either through ignorance of diplomatic usage, or unacquaintance with social proprieties, no answer was returned! This was at once a denial of justice, and a personal disrespect which (until atoned for) made it impossible for the aggrieved functionary to hold immediate intercourse with the wanton offender, who (having only recently arrived) was not even known to him by sight. So Mr. Fonblanque took the obviously correct course of representing the matter to the Foreign-office and to the embassy at Constantinople. In order to save appearances without compromising the national honour or his own—he went, in uniform, to the Russian consulate, and gave in his card, which was insultingly rejected in the way already described. Sir Stratford Canning is reported to be highly indignant at the affront, which is viewed by the Porte as part of an intolerable system. The British ambassador is supposed to have left the question to the decision of the Secretary of State, and there is a general impression that the Russian functionary will be disavowed by his Government. If the Austro-Muscovite intrigues and cabals are suffered to continue much longer in the European provinces of Turkey, there will be no use in trying to check them. The game will be up."

The *Constitutionelle Blatt aus Bohmen* states that the members of the London Missionary and Bible Society, who have for many years resided in Pesth, and other Hungarian towns, had been ordered (it is not said by whom) to leave the Austrian States, and to direct their journey in obedience to a prescribed route, being forbidden to visit the capital. It is further stated that these missionaries, most of whom are family men, solicited vainly a short respite, for the purpose of arranging and removing their households. In reply to this request they were peremptorily informed that they must proceed on their journey on or before the 15th instant.

From the accounts given in the Swiss journals, it appears that the winter has been very severe in Switzerland. On the 28th ultimo the thermometer stood at 18 degrees centigrade below zero at St. Gall, and at 20 degrees at Appenzell. The lake of Zurich is entirely frozen over. At Fribourg, the River Sarine is said to be frozen over, except where it is very rapid. What is remarkable is, that the cold is said to be less intense on the mountains than in the valleys; the temperature is milder in the Gruyère than at Fribourg, and at Aldorf than on the slopes of St. Gothard and the neighbouring mountains.

The Honourable R. Abercromby, British Envoy at Turin, has taken his departure for his new post at the Hague. His removal is regarded as a serious loss by the Liberal party in Piedmont.

The Intendant-General of Genoa has issued regulations concerning the refugees in that city. They are to apply for a permit of residence, stating their means of sustenance and their occupation. No political reasons are assigned for these regulations, which are said to be directed against people of bad character, who usurp the designation of political refugees.

Letters from Florence mention the exultation of the Tuscan Government at the success of the coup d'état in France, and its avowed intention to exterminate the Constitutionalists. The Grand Duke is scandalized at the liberty of the press in Piedmont.

The Duchess d'Aumale was delivered of a prince at Naples on the 12th instant. He was baptized on the following day, by the name of the Duke of Guise.

#### RISE OF A NATIONAL PRUSSIAN PARTY. (FROM AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Bonn, January 18, 1852.

I ought to give you some information about a new political party which has just worked itself to the light of day, and which, as things go, is not without significance.

During the last days of November, while all nature was wrapt in benumbing frosts, and the political world, like nature, was sleeping a fructifying sleep, and the curtain ("green with gold bees") had not yet risen yonder on the grand Napoleonic *refaccimento*, the readers of newspapers were startled by the announcement of a new weekly journal, the programme for which bore the signature of a prince, (the Prince of Wied), of the generals of the army, of three counts, three privy councillors, besides those of sundry professors and members of the Upper Chamber—all, or nearly all, hitherto known as staunch Conservatives, if not reactionaries and adherents of the yunker party. Said programme expressed dissatisfaction with the ruling reactionary politics of the day, professed fidelity to the constitution as settled, and to the important duties which Prussia, as the largest purely German state, and the smallest of the great European powers, had to perform towards itself, towards Germany and Europe. In short, it amounted to an explosion, an utter split amongst the Prussian Tories, and the loss to the squirearchy of some of its most respectable names. At the head of these seceding "liberal conservatives" stand Herr von Bethmann Holweg, and his son-in-law Count Pourtales, recently returned on leave from his post, as Ambassador at Constantinople. The former, who

has been much connected with this town, and is greatly respected by all parties, is a very learned and very wealthy man (tourists may remember his beautiful seat, Castle Rheineck), who was formerly a professor, and has served the State in various honourable offices. Last summer there was much talk about his energetic protest against the assembling of the provincial estates; and the "split" dates from that period. "Provincial estates" means here abandoning the constitution of 1849, and returning to the status quo ante. The men of the "Preussische Wochenblatt" (that is the name of the new journal) oppose that; they are for honest acceptance of things as now settled, and for proceeding onwards, not backwards, from that basis; they advocate also (curiously enough) a separation of the Protestant Church from the State, and they oppose Manteuffel's principle of the "solidarity of conservative interests," as the basis of the external relations of Prussia; maintaining that Prussia has to choose her allies according to her actual interests, and not according to political tendencies; they are withal against the close alliance with Austria under present circumstances, arguing, with much justice, that as long as Austria continues *within* Germany, it is her interest to keep Germany and Prussia weak, while the fortunes of the latter are indissolubly united. The articles which have hitherto appeared in the paper embrace the salient points of German politics: Electoral Hesse, Holstein, the Press, the Protestant Church, the Austrian Incubus upon the affairs of the fatherland. They are written in the best spirit, with remarkable talent and practical knowledge, and withal with perfect independence of the doctrines said to be acceptable in high quarters, which is all the more to be commended, as the King, who has long been on friendly terms with Bethmann Holweg, and others of the party, is said to have (as his way is) talked and remonstrated with them about their dangerous and disloyal proceedings.

Here then we have, for the first time since the hurricane of 1848 had blown itself out in exhaustive talk and conclusive cannon, a set of men of rank, of practical political experience and standing, of conservative sentiments and loyal attachment to the "altar and the throne," placing themselves in avowed and clearly defined opposition to the ruling reactionary politics of the day, and pointing, with a force and emphasis that must command respect and attention, towards a different and more profitable onward way. Good luck attend their patriotic enterprise!

But, on the whole, Manteuffel's star seems on the wane. Besides this new opposition, he has that against him which no statesman or man can long resist—the stubborn nature of things. He succeeds in nothing; he has proved himself—even in the eyes of those who acknowledge the difficulties of his position, and who wished him well—a mere bureaucrat, a red-tapist, and nothing more. All the aspiring men of Prussia—all those who believe in the future of their country, and are anxious she should take her right and proper position, and be true to her history, (and there are many such amongst all classes, but particularly amongst the higher and the cultivated)—hate him. His bending to Schwartzberg has brought him nothing but humiliation and embarrassment. Austria's hostility to Prussia's interests, within the walls of the palace of the Diet at Frankfurt, as elsewhere, has been as unrelenting as ever; and the quarrels in the former have lately run so high, that the people in the adjoining houses tell tales about it!

The one important thing of which this Manteuffel ministry has accomplished the preliminaries at least—the treaty with Hanover, contemplating the introduction into the German Zollverein of those northern states that have hitherto kept aloof from it—is greatly endangered by Schwartzberg's counter-move. As in olden times, they had their counter-synods and oeconomic councils, so has he now sitting at Vienna a great counter-Zollcongress, or Custom-house-Parliament, where he expounds to the delegates of the secondary German courts the transcendent beauties of his counter-tariff; and kindles their Bavarian, Swabian, and Hessian imaginations, with blarney about a great Central European Customs union of seventy millions of souls, and Austrian "protection to native industry." The unprotected state of his finances, however, if nothing else, will prevent his doing more for the present than poisoning the ears of the delegates against the free trade tendencies of Prussia, and heaping stumbling-blocks in the way of the Zollverein. What he practically proposes for the present is a close commercial treaty with the latter, preparatory to ultimate complete union. Should Prussia succeed, as it ought, in uniting all the rest of Germany into one Customs union, and should that, as would not be unlikely, be followed by a commercial alliance with Austria, then would be accomplished for practical internal purposes what Gagern had proposed politically, namely, a German Union, and separate but close alliance with Austria! That which is "innerlich berechtigt," as my professional friends express it, what is justified by the

\* In the latest number of the paper an alliance with England is strongly advocated as the most natural for Prussia.

nature of things, will have to come about, in spite of intrigues and obstacles. Germany has long been intellectually one; the Universities of the different States have always co-operated, and practically dealt with each other as members of one great commonwealth; railways and uniform postage (that is also a plant of our new growth) are busy day and night weaving the web of social intercourse and mutual dependency; this contemplated completion of the Zollverein, joining the coasts of the North Sea to the banks of the Lake of Constance, will do the same for commercial and industrial operations. The mind, the heart, the hands of a nation of some forty millions, will then act, consciously or unconsciously, all in one direction; and against them there will be the "vested rights" of some thirty-odd (mostly worn-out) individuals, claiming to put up gates of different colours (blue and white, black and white, red and white, &c.) and to annoy each other. Will it be difficult to guess the issue?

The late occurrences in France have had no rebound or echo of any sort here. It is the first time this century, and longer, that this has been the case; and one might take it as a proof of the diminishing influence of France. Even its electrical force, once so strong over the Continent, and over the world, seems exhausted. One might almost say that Lord Palmerston's exit from Downing-street has caused more sensation here than Louis Napoleon's advent at the Tuilleries.

At the beginning of the winter, which threatened to be severe, fears were entertained of distress in the country, owing to the deficient harvest and high price of provisions; and the Government had issued circulars to the provincial authorities, encouraging the undertaking of public works, if possible of a remunerative sort, for the employment of the poor. But lately the weather has suddenly grown remarkably mild, soft, and spring-like; swallows have already been seen; and here and there a sanguine vintner is busy with his pruning-knife—hoping, no doubt, as he always does, that this year will be better than the last was! And this is the great blessing of even the poorest peasant-proprietor—this exhilarating contact with Nature and her inexhaustible hopefulness.

J. N.

#### REFORM CAMPAIGN.

Many persons presume to know the results of those numerous deliberations at the Foreign-office styled Cabinet Councils; and country editors, on "good," and even the "very best authority," speculate pretty freely. Thus the *Gloucester Journal* understands, "upon the very best authority, that Government, in the new Reform Bill they are about to introduce, mean to combine Trowbridge, Bradford, and Westbury (in Wiltshire), in one electoral district, which shall unitedly return two members to Parliament." The *Kentish Mercury* has similar revelations to make of the fate of the "right little, tight little" borough of Greenwich. In the piquant words of the customary editorial formula, the *Kentish Mercury* "understands" that "in the new Reform Bill promised by Lord J. Russell, efforts will be made to divide the borough of Greenwich into three districts, viz., Woolwich to have one member, and include the parishes of Plumstead, East and West Wickham, &c.; Deptford to have Hatcham and Peckham; and Greenwich to take in the parish of Lewisham, which includes Sydenham and Blackheath."

Reform meetings continue to be held here and there in support of the alleged reformatory tendencies of Lord John Russell. Westminster met at the Exeter Hotel on Monday, and the old Reform Association, which has seen great days, and may see great days again, was aroused from a long and not very creditable torpor—"abeyance," that is the word—it has been for the last two or three years in "abeyance." Why, in the face of continental activity, did the Westminster Reform Association remain in abeyance? Because the Westminster section of the British mind required "repose" after its fatiguing efforts in carrying corn law repeal; and then the Great Exhibition had a "deadening effect" on all questions "merely political." Now that a "dissolution" is we do not know how close upon us, it was felt that the Society should be put in working order, and the word passed to "clear for action." What are the first step? Something immense. A committee, named from the different parishes in the city, was appointed; and it was remitted to them to revise the rules and regulations now existing, and report to a future meeting to be held soon after the meeting of Parliament.

Birmingham and Manchester have also spoken. Birmingham reveals scandals. The meeting was held on Friday week in the Town-hall, and attended by some thousands. It was called to receive a deputation from the National Parliamentary Reform Association, consisting of Sir Joshua Walsley and Mr. George Thompson. Mr. Alderman Baldwin presided. After the gentlemen deputed had spoken, a curious scene ensued. Letters were read from absent eminent reformers: Mr. Hume pleaded business and his great age; Mr. Gosch, M.P., had an urgent engagement in Paris. Mr. Joseph Sturge also declined at-



tending. Messrs. Muntz and Scholefield, the borough members, sent the following note:—

"Birmingham, January 16, 1852.

"Sir,—When, some short time since, we accepted an invitation to attend the reform meeting which is to be held in the Town-hall this evening, we were under the impression that the movement was a perfectly spontaneous one receiving its impulse wholly from the inhabitants of the borough. It would now seem that the meeting owes its origin to other than local influences, and that it is to be used not simply as a means of eliciting the public voice on the important subject of reform, but also for the purpose of disseminating the political and financial views of a body of gentlemen acting under the name of the 'National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association.' Emphatically disclaiming all feeling of hostility to that body, and willingly acknowledging the zealous exertions of its leaders, and their desire to promote the cause of good government, we cannot consent to identify ourselves with plans and principles in many of which we do not concur, or sanction any extraneous interference with the independent expression of the opinions of our fellow townsmen. Under these circumstances, and being anxious to avoid anything which can disturb the proceedings of the meeting, we deem it the more respectful course to abstain from taking any share in its discussions; and we are, Sir, yours faithfully,

G. F. MUNTZ,  
WM. SCHOLEFIELD.

It would be a very mild expression to say that the reception the foregoing experienced was anything but complimentary. The *Birmingham Journal* has a report in its late edition, and says, "The letter was received with hissing."

Mr. George Dawson, M.A., with whom the meeting originated, was most heartily cheered. He commented with great severity on the joint letter of the borough members.

"He said he was sorry he must begin by the performance of a disagreeable duty, that of explaining all about the letter which they had heard read, and which was received about six o'clock that evening. He would tell them the whole history of the affair, leaving the meeting to judge of the conduct of those who called it, and of the conduct of their members, who had deserted a meeting they promised to attend. (*Hear.*) Birmingham politics, as they all knew, were in a strange state. Some persons believed in the right of prescription, some in their grey hairs, others in their wealth, to entitle them to do everything. If they didn't do it they grumbled; if somebody else didn't do it what they thought they should do themselves, they grumbled again. Now, what was to be done? It was very desirable that Birmingham should, before the meeting of Parliament, have something to say on the new Reform Bill which Lord John promised or threatened them with. The meeting should have been held in November, but the coming of the great Hungarian chief stopped it at that time. Well, certain gentlemen consulted with him as to when the meeting should be called. He sent circulars to many, but out of the many very few attended; and he confessed that on him lay the responsibility and the blame of calling it—of bringing extraneous people, foreigners, to it; people not living in the parish, who were not born in it, over whom the chief beadle exercised no jurisdiction. (*Laughter.*) He took both the bills and the blame, and would defend himself and them as, usual, against all gainsayers. (*Cheers.*) Having, therefore, arranged a day for the meeting, and having been told that the National Parliamentary Association were very anxious to bring their views before the men of Birmingham, he did, with the consent of the small committee, invite them to come. He told them plainly that their views were not extensive enough; that there was not a man very active in Birmingham who would stir a finger for anything short of universal suffrage. (*Cheers.*) They came upon that understanding. He wrote to Mr. Scholefield, and told him that they intended to go for universal suffrage; he told him that these gentlemen were coming. Mr. Scholefield sent a note on Saturday, expressing some surprise that they were coming, and he had heard nothing further until that afternoon. (*Hear.*) Now, these being the facts, let them see what these gentlemen said.—'We were under the impression that the meeting was a spontaneous one.' So it was. 'Receiving its impulse wholly from the inhabitants of the borough.' Why, the five persons who originated the meeting—or himself, as he was to bear the blame—he was, he supposed, an inhabitant. 'The meeting owes its origin to other than local influences.' That he denied altogether. 'That it is to be used for the purpose of disseminating the political and financial views of a body of gentlemen acting under the name of the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association.' Now, was it likely that it could be used for anything of the sort when they were informed that the meeting would be asked to go for universal suffrage? To say that the meeting was got up at the dictation of these gentlemen or of any body else, he scorned it. (*Cheers.*) 'We cannot consent to identify ourselves with plans and principles, in many of which we do not concur, or sanction any extraneous interference with the independent expression of the opinions of our fellow townsmen.' Now, nobody asked them to identify themselves with these gentlemen. Did they act upon their extraneous interference? (*Hear.*) Were they to be told that they must not have a man amongst them who was not cradled in that borough of theirs? (*Cheers.*) Did Mr. Scholefield refuse the extraneous influence of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright on former occasions? (*Hear.*) The letter would be published; hence he would waste no time on it. Somebody said, 'How are we to do without them?' Echo answered—without them. (*Laughter.*)

Without further speech Mr. Dawson proceeded to

the resolution. The resolution he had to propose was:—

"That this meeting declares itself in favour of an extension of the suffrage to every adult male unconvicted of crime, and of sound mind. (*Great cheering.*) So far as he could remember, the resolution was in the very same words as those of the Charter, and very properly so, because they believed that universal suffrage was just, and therefore they could not do better than use the words of a document which justified it, and had received the sanction of the men of Birmingham. They had all heard of the threatened invasion of the country, and should it take place, no doubt they would all be called on to bear arms against the foreign invaders. They were all called on by the Government to do the drudgery of the nation—to sweep the streets, as it were; above all, to pay the country's debts; and yet they were denied their votes. The Government and the aristocracy were the Brahmins who sprang from the head of Brahma; but the people were the poor Pariahs who emanated from his feet. Political preference was like a piece of plate kept on a family sideboard—it was rigidly preserved for the Elliots and the Cavendishes, and no one else. When he looked all over Europe, and saw that the little candle of liberty was alone burning in this land—when he saw the worse than Egyptian darkness which had spread all over France—when he saw a little man miserably attempting to imitate a great man, deluging the streets of Paris with carnage and with blood—when he saw the hero of Boulogne, the mighty sausage and champagne monger, aping the victor of Austerlitz—when he saw the Republican despot transporting to Cayenne men who had committed no offence, untried and uncondemned—when he saw these atrocities perpetrated within twenty miles of England, he implored the men of Britain not to fall back but to go forward; to press their demands for freedom, and to cry aloud to the despots, 'We will hurl you from your thrones, we will stand by our liberties; and to every round of grape with which you mow down men we will reply with reinvigorating cheers; and in that same degree with which you minimise liberty, so will we maximise it here at home; for it was their duty to say to Europe, 'We are the oldest children of liberty, and we have not lost our faith in it yet.' But it was said by some that this was not the moment to advocate universal suffrage, and people pointed to France to prove their argument. Now, he would ask, when the revolution of February, 1848, took place, were the people banished to Cayenne then? Was Louis Philippe assailed? did the Republicans dye their hands in blood? No, the punishment of death was abolished, and the men acted quietly but firmly, and order was not violated under the name of peace. The history of the past confirmed him in his conviction that at this period it was more than ever the duty of Englishmen to strengthen and increase their liberties, and surely it could not be argued against them that because universal suffrage had not succeeded in France that it must necessarily fail here. He committed himself for ever to the principle of universal suffrage, and he had no hesitation in assisting those who were travelling in the same direction, although for the present they fell somewhat short of it. He had himself qualified as an elector, and he hoped to go up to battle against Newdegate and Spooner, to rescue North Warwickshire from those those two devoted Paladins of antiquity, those Gemini of darkness, who would keep Jews from the rights of citizenship, Roman Catholics in abject subjection, and restore protection to the farmers, in utter forgetfulness of the rights of others in the country they misrepresented. Let England shout to the Pope that he should not imprison and keep down his subjects; let them abjure the wanton invasion by France of Rome, the most wicked aggression of modern days; let them look to poor down-trodden Poland and Hungary, and cry, 'We Englishmen love liberty, and will increase it. Let us alone: we tread on the wondrous dust of the men of old who went up to battle for their institutions. We are of the same stamp and blood, and the greater the darkness abroad the more brilliantly will we light up our candles at home.' Let them be worthy of the heritage their fathers left them; let them reinspire the fallen nations of Europe with hope, and in saving themselves they would do justice to the cause of Italy, of Hungary, of Germany, and of Poland. Let them rebuke all despots, until again liberty, the cause for which their ancestors fought and bled, should triumph as of old. (*Great cheering.*)"

Mr. B. Hill seconded the resolution, which was put, and carried unanimously. The Reverend Brewin Grant moved the next resolution:—

"That this meeting having heard the statements of the deputation from the National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association, and considering the measures of that association a great improvement on the present system, and a great advance towards universal suffrage, offers the association its thanks for what it has done, and assistance for the future."

Mr. George Edmonds, the Clerk of the Peace, having seconded it, this resolution was also unanimously adopted. Votes of thanks were passed to Sir Joshua Walsley and Mr. Thompson for their attendance, and the meeting broke up.

The Manchester meeting was almost private, and consisted of the members of the council of the Manchester Parliamentary Reform Association, lately so rudely rebuffed by Lord John Russell. The net result of the meeting was the adoption of the following petition, based on a resolution approving of reform. Here, then, we have the political gospel according to Manchester.

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled:—

"The petition of the undersigned inhabitants of Man-

chester humbly sheweth:—That your petitioners have heard with great satisfaction that it is the intention of her Majesty's Ministers to introduce in the session of the present year a bill to amend the representation of the people in your honourable House.

"That your petitioners are deeply anxious that the change now proposed should render your honourable House a fair representation of the property, the intelligence, and the industry of the United Kingdom; and in this view they submit the following propositions, in the hope that they may receive the consideration of your honourable House, and be adopted in any measure for the amendment of the representation.

"Your petitioners propose that the elective franchise shall henceforth be based upon occupation, and liability to the poor rate, with such limitations as to period of residence as shall be necessary to afford a guarantee that the occupation is bona fide; and further, that the 40s. franchise shall be extended to the United Kingdom, and be conferred upon the possessors of property of that annual value, whether derived from freehold, copyhold, or leasehold tenures.

"Your petitioners are of opinion that your honourable House cannot satisfactorily adjust the representation of the people without a very considerable change in the distribution of the electoral power, and they suggest that, where practicable and convenient, small and neighbouring boroughs shall be united and form one borough; that where such union is not practicable, small boroughs shall cease to return members, and their existing constituencies merge in the constituency of the county in which they are situate; that, corresponding to the extent to which small boroughs shall be united, or shall cease to return members to Parliament, new boroughs shall be created from the populous towns now unrepresented, and that additional members shall be conferred upon the metropolitan and other first-class boroughs in the United Kingdom; and that, so far as is practicable, no constituency shall hereafter consist of fewer than 5000 electors.

"That your petitioners are most strongly of opinion that the adoption of the ballot is indispensable to an honest representation; that it would make the conviction of the elector, rather than his personal interest and fears, the leading motive in the exercise of the franchise; that it would greatly repress the demoralising practices, so humiliating to candidates, and so degrading to electors, which seem almost inseparable from canvass and a poll under the existing system; and that it would aid most effectually in preventing the turbulence and riot with which elections have hitherto been too often attended.

"That your petitioners are of opinion that the present legal duration of Parliament is much too extended to secure to constituencies a proper control over their representatives, and they therefore strongly urge the repeal of the Septennial Act, and the limitation of the duration of Parliaments, according to ancient precedents, to a period not exceeding three years.

"That your petitioners are of opinion that a property qualification for members of Parliament is neither necessary nor just, and that the law which now insists upon such qualification should be at once repealed.

"That your petitioners, in urging the adoption of the foregoing propositions, express their belief that they are strictly in accordance with the principles and objects of the Constitution; that they will provide for an honest expression of public opinion in your honourable House, and are calculated to secure a just and economical Government to the British Empire. Your petitioners, therefore, earnestly pray that the said propositions may form a part of any measure which your honourable House may pass to amend the representation of the people.

"And your petitioners will ever pray, &c."

Leeds also has spoken. A meeting was held there on Tuesday, under the presidency of Mr. Alderman Wilson, and attended by Mr. Marshall, M.P., Mr. Edward Baines, Mr. Alderman Carbutt, and other gentlemen attached to the cause of Liberalism in Leeds. Mr. Marshall, in moving the first resolution, recalled the "stirring recollections" of the Reform Bill, and argued that, as the enfranchisement of 1832 had behaved well, a further extension was legitimate.

"That this meeting, having considered the existing state of the representation of the United Kingdom, is desirous to see such changes effected as will satisfy the just and moderate expectations of the people, and render the House of Commons, in conformity with the spirit of the constitution, a fair representation of the property, the industry, and the intelligence of the people; and that, while aiming at this object, it is moreover anxious to adhere to the ancient landmarks of our representative system, and within their limits to introduce such changes only as experience shows to be wise and safe."

Mr. Edward Baines seconded the resolution, and spoke up for municipal franchise applied to Parliamentary elections. Mr. Alderman Carbutt moved a resolution the reflex of the Manchester petition, seconded by Mr. David Green. Mr. Henderson proposed manhood suffrage as an amendment, and the motion was seconded. Appeals were made to him to withdraw the amendment, but in vain. It was put, and for a long time the Chairman was uncertain whether it were carried or not. Ultimately it was declared to be lost. This ought to show the medium Liberals that their plans are only tolerated by the people because the latter are unwilling to be the fomentors of discord.

On the same day a meeting was held at Nottingham, under the presidency of Mr. Alderman Knight, and attended by Sir Joshua Walsley and Mr. George Thompson. Resolutions, approving of a tolerably

extensive Reform Bill, and earnestly entreating the Reformers to be united, were carried unanimously. A meeting took place at Derby on Thursday, attended by Sir Joshua Walsley and Mr. George Thompson. Mr. Alderman Moss occupied the chair. The tone of the meeting was most enthusiastic, and the resolutions pledged the meeting to support the movement of the National Reform Association.

#### NATIONAL DEFENCES.

Increasing in extent, depth, and fervour, the war spirit, or more properly, the spirit of National defence, is the strongest and noisiest cry of the day. It haws down reform, and stifles the strike. War—arms—Rifle Clubs—the morning journals teem with exhortations, suggestions, criticisms. The sixth letter from a "Naval Officer" appeared yesterday morning in the *Morning Chronicle*; and many able leaders on the insufficiency of our military arrangements have been printed in that journal. Rifle Clubs are suggested on all sides; but at present free and enlightened Englishmen are not allowed to drill, and undisciplined marksmen are not worth much against regulars. Still the cry is, Let us have Rifle Clubs. You may, rejoins the *Standard*; they would do "no harm" if the regulation dress and the arms were of the "best quality," and at the expense of the wearer and bearer.

"Persons who can afford to pay for arms and clothing, &c., say £10 a man, and feel that they have leisure to devote to military education, are just the men upon whom the Crown and the country may rely with most perfect confidence in any emergency."

Anecdotes are recounted in letters, daily, of the wonderful facility with which the French troops were transported to Civita Vecchia; how, in the Baden revolution, the Prussians, with "needle guns," picked off the insurgents at the distance of eight hundred yards; and how easily Louis Napoleon arrested generals, closed a powerful Assembly, shot down a brave population, by a coup. Sir Charles Shaw, Captain Plunket, "Coast Guardsmen," "Old Dragoons," "Sharpshooters," and "Citizens," fill column after column of the daily journals. Reports like the following get into circulation. A "Correspondent" of the *Daily News* writes:—

"An addition of 25,000 men to the army is intended, and the necessary arrangements are now understood to be in progress. The plan, to be promulgated immediately after the meeting of Parliament, is understood to be as follows:—

The 17 regiments of cavalry on the home service are to be increased 30 men per troop (the King's Dragoon Guards having 8 troops), to increase this arm of the service.....	3,120
The Royal Artillery, 13 battalions, 250 men to each battalion.....	3,250
Thirty regiments of the line, now at home—viz., 1st battalion First Royals, Fourth, Seventh, Ninth, Fourteenth, Twenty-third, Twenty-seventh, Twenty-eighth, Thirty-first, Thirty-third, Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-sixth, Forty-eighth, Fiftieth, Fifty-second, Fifty-seventh, Seventy-first, Seventy-seventh, Seventy-ninth, Eighty-first, Eighty-second, Eighty-fifth, Eighty-eighth, Eighty-ninth, Ninetieth, Ninety-first, Ninety-third, and Ninety-fifth—to be augmented to 1000 rank and file each.....	6,200
The following twenty-four depôts to be formed into second battalions: Second, Sixth, Eleventh, Thirteenth, Twenty-sixth, Thirtieth, Thirty-fourth, Thirty-sixth, Forty-second, Forty-third, Forty-seventh, Forty-ninth, Fifty-sixth, Fifty-eighth, Sixtieth, Sixty-sixth, Sixty-eighth, Sixty-ninth, Seventy-second, Seventy-third, Seventy-fourth, Seventy-sixth, Ninety-second, and Rifles, each battalion to be 800 rank and file.....	12,500

25,070

"In addition to the above, 10,000 militia are to be available, to relieve, if necessary, an equal force of the line from Ireland. A large increase to the navy has also been decided on, and also two additional battalions of Marines."

Government is actually displaying some activity. A Horse Guards memorandum says:—

"In consequence of the rejection of recruits at the head quarters of recruiting districts on slight and insufficient grounds, the Commander-in-Chief has, on the recommendation of the superintendent of the medical department, and at the suggestion of the Secretary at War, directed that henceforth, and until further orders, the inspection of recruits by the district staff surgeons, under additional instructions to be furnished to them from the Army Medical Department, shall be considered final; and that only in cases of obvious oversight, or of causes of disability arising, or first showing themselves, during the period intervening between the date of the district inspection and that of recruits joining their regiments (which should in all cases be especially reported), shall recruits examined and passed by the staff surgeons of recruiting districts be liable to rejection by the medical officers of regiments. With reference to the Limited Service Act of 1847, it is also directed that second enlistments of men, in all other respects eligible, may take place hereafter in infantry up to the age of thirty-six, and in cavalry up to the age of thirty-eight."

The Board of Ordnance have sent down to Birmingham for tenders for the setting up of 23,000 rifle muskets.

Captain Ramsay, R.N., is to hoist a pendant on board the *Magicienne* steam-frigate, and take command of the steam squadron at Devonport; and Captain the Honourable S. T. Carnegie will hoist a pendant in the *Horatio*, with the same object, at Sheerness. We may add that Captain Henderson, in the *Blenheim*, is already in a similar position at Portsmouth.

Of course all this excitement and seeming alarm is based on the supposition that we shall be attacked by France—Louis Napoleon's utter perfidy affording the strongest ground for the supposition. What do the French papers allege that the French Government thinks on this topic?

The *Constitutionnel* devotes two leaders to the supposed uneasiness of England on the score of invasion by France. In its first leader it says:—

"It is reported, and by many believed, that England has ordered increased armaments, and that she is putting her coasts in a state of defence. We ought to be accustomed to see military and naval men claim similar measures of precaution every time that anything ever happens to interest them. In the last years of the reign of Louis Philippe, who certainly did not entertain ideas of war, when the Chamber of Deputies voted a credit for the increase of our naval stores, Admiral Napier and many others called for extraordinary armaments, and began recommending an impress of seamen, and almost went so far as to sound the alarm of a great maritime war. Little attention was then paid to it. The armaments now in question in England are no more real than they were at that period. We shall not repeat the cries of alarm put forth by the English press; we shall merely allude to what is said here on the subject. Reports of impending war are spread, and they become the subject of the most absurd comments. If we may believe the alarmists, the Government is about to bring us back to the period of the camp at Boulogne, and concert the means of making a descent on England. Other news-mongers direct the conquering ambition of Louis Napoleon to another side. Some declare that he is going to publish a decree annexing Belgium to France; others that he is about to resume the frontiers of the Rhine. Some pretend to know that he has views on Geneva, others on Savoy. Each one is in possession of a state secret; each is in the confidence of a project on which will depend the destinies of the country and of Europe."

Having thus given a resumé of statements sent from this side, the same paper asks:—

"Is it necessary to say that all this pretended information is nothing more than ridiculous invention? Certainly the safety and honour of France are in worthy hands. Louis Napoleon, if obliged to sustain abroad the honour and dignity of the nation who has placed him at its head, would not prove unfaithful to the glorious traditions of his family. But before one thinks of measures of defence, we must first be attacked, and there is no power in the world which at this moment dreams of disturbing either the interest or independence of France. On the other hand, the idea of an unjust aggression on any European state, great or small, has never once entered the mind of Louis Napoleon. The elect of seven millions and a half of Frenchmen is entirely occupied with the organization of his Government, for sake of giving to his country an era of order, industry, and prosperity. It is a fine and glorious task. The ideas which engage his councils are such as bear on the peace of France and of the world. Those rumours of war are all false, and got up in a spirit of hostility against the national government of Louis Napoleon."

These are what the *Standard* calls "unequivocal pledges of a pacific policy!"

Hammersmith has set the example in coming forward to demand governmental sanction for popular military organization. On Monday evening a meeting was held at the Albion-hall, Hammersmith, convened by a large number of respectable inhabitants of the town, to consider the subject of making such preparations as would render every man capable of affording loyal aid to his Queen, and assisting in the defence of his country, in case of a sudden invasion. Sir John Phillippart was called to the chair. T. J. Serle, Esq., moved a resolution calling upon the Government to give their sanction and aid to the arming and drilling the people, so as to be ready, in case of an invasion, to repel an attack. The resolution was seconded by W. Simpson, Esq., and carried unanimously. Dr. Gaskell, of Chelsea, proposed that a committee be formed to confer with the Government, and report the result to a future meeting, which was seconded by Mr. Dunford, of Nottingham, and carried.

The old letter of the Duke of Wellington is cited as a proof of our defenceless state, in a penny pamphlet issued this week in support of the scheme for Rifle Clubs. The writer suggests that a Metropolitan Club should be formed, divided into regiments or brigades, and subdivided into companies of fifty men.

"Each company," he says, "should meet for practice and drill once a day, and suitable situations in the suburbs of London be chosen for practising. I would suggest the following districts and places for meeting:—

West London .....	The Parks, Acton, Putney, and Westbourne.
Islington and North London .....	Caledonian and Copenhagen Fields.
Mill-end, Bow, and East London .....	Victoria-park and Hackney.
Lambeth, and the Surrey-side .....	Battersea-fields, Clapham, Peckham, and Blackheath.

"Fields could be obtained, and temporary buildings erected, at a trifling cost; a long shed, similar to a ropewalk, could be formed for practice, each company having a fixed hour for meeting, and one commencing when the other leaves off. Of course, the strictest military discipline would require to be enforced, and each man compelled to promise the most implicit obedience to the officer placed over him. A number of young men meeting together for amusement, and not to be taught, would soon defeat the object."

"The next question would be the uniform—the more simple and inexpensive the better. A glazed leather cap with peak; a frock coat, made of some cheap and durable fabric; trousers to match; belt, with pouch for ammunition, and strap for rifle, would be amply sufficient for full dress. For undress, it is a question whether any uniform is needed at all; but if considered necessary, the cap as above, and a blouse of some dark colour would do. The officers, as a matter of course, must wear a suitable uniform, slightly ornamented."

The cost per man he estimates at £5, and the total cost for the whole £250,000. To meet this, he asks for a subscription, and he calls on the wealthy and influential to exert themselves.

#### ARM, ARM, ARM!

Oh where is he, the simple fool,  
Who says that wars are over?  
What bloody portent flashes there  
Across the Straits of Dover?  
Four hundred thousand slaves in arms  
May seek to bring us under:  
Are we ready, Britons all,  
To answer them with thunder?

Arm, arm, arm!

You sleepy Lords of Admiralty,  
Your errors are too grievous;  
See that your work be workmanlike,  
Or else go out and leave us.  
Oh shame on selfish patronage!  
It is the country's ruin:  
Come, put the right man in his place,  
And up now, and be doing!

Arm, arm, arm!

And you, ye brawlers pennywise,  
Through you the land is cheated,  
Till, by barbarians better armed,  
Our greatness is defeated.  
The cheapest things are not the best;  
The best things are the cheapest.  
But wake, arise: Oh, noble blood  
Of England, how thou creepst!

Arm, arm, arm!

Oh gather, gallant volunteers,  
In every British village;  
Or has the tiger of Algiers  
Your license here to pillage?  
Oh, babbling Peace Societies  
(Where many a dreamer trifles),  
Is this a time to cry for peace,  
When we should shout for rifles?

Arm, arm, arm!

Oh, big-limbed yeomen, leave awhile  
The fattening of your cattle;  
And if, indeed, ye long for peace,  
Make ready to do battle—  
To fight the battle of the world,  
Of progress, and humanity—  
'Spite of his eight million lies,  
And bastard Christianity!

Arm, arm, arm!

A SCORNER OF THE PENNYWISE.

#### CHURCH MATTERS.

Diocesan Synods have become the subject of popular lectures. The Reverend Canon Trevor delivered an address to a large audience on Wednesday at St. Paul's Church, Finsbury, on this subject, and a regular course is in preparation.

"He was the advocate not of an absolute, but of a constitutional monarchy in the Church of England, and it was from that sort of government that all the formularies of the Church derived their force. By such a tribunal questions of faith and morals, and all ecclesiastical matters, ought to be decided. Every question of difficulty should be referred to synods, composed of clergy and laity—although it was a question discussed at a council to what extent the votes of the laity should be received. The local spiritual executive should have the sole power of convening such an assembly. Upon these principles the Catholic Church was planted and propagated throughout the world. These assemblies were never inhibited by law—they certainly had been suspended, but that suspension was never intended to be permanent. Convocation was suspended, and, through the apathy of the eighteenth century, it was continued to the present day. The effect of the apathy which prevailed during the last century was, that the episcopal character deteriorated, and every act partook of nepotism and jobbery, and the conduct of the rulers became assimilated with the low and debauched morals of the time, while the forms of the Church became vapid, formal, and unedifying. Sacraments and spiritual exercises decayed, piety languished, dissent spread throughout the land, and struck its root deep into the wounded feelings of an outraged laity."

He asserted that the present demand for the revival



of syndical action originated among the working clergy.

A large and important meeting of the "friends of the Church of England" was held at the Hanover-square Rooms on Thursday. The Reverend T. Collins, B.D., rural dean of the diocese of Ripon, presided. The meeting was considered as adjourned from a meeting held at Derby in October last, as our readers will remember. Resolutions were passed in favour of the revival of diocesan synods; and the meeting again adjourned until the 29th of April, 1852.

In the diocese of Exeter there is great activity. Petitions are in course of signature to be presented to both Houses of Convocation next session, praying them to take the necessary steps to procure leave from the Crown for the performance of their constitutional functions. The Exeter Church Union passed a series of resolutions on Tuesday last, condemning Lord Shaftesbury's proposed alterations in the National Society; thanking Lord Redesdale for his conduct last July; "hailing with hope" Mr. Gladstone's promised bill on the subject of colonial dioceses; and viewing "with feelings of devout thankfulness the truly Catholic suggestion made by the Bishop of Vermont to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the assembly of a council of the bishops of all the churches in communion with the Church of England," to settle existing divisions, and maintain the primitive faith and constitution of the Church against the pretensions of Rome.

The *Preston Chronicle* says that a few Protestant gentlemen, to mark their sense of the high literary attainments of Dr. Lingard, and of his private worth, intend to erect a monument to his memory in the parish church of Hornby, near Lancaster, in which village the doctor resided about half a century. His remains, it will be remembered, are interred at Ushaw, in the county of Durham.

The Archdeacon of Taunton has forwarded to the *Leader* the subjoined correspondence:—

TO SIR JOHN PAKINGTON, BARONET.

East Brent, January 10, 1852.

SIR,—In your letter lately published in the *Times*, you appeal to the public, as against my friends and myself, in behalf of what you term "moderate counsels."

Now it is certainly possible that I may be wrong in my apprehension of what constitutes "moderation," in dealing with such matters as those upon which you and I are, unhappily, at issue—and as it is clear that our apprehensions of what is meant by "moderation" are not identical, I shall be glad to have the point quietly argued and cleared up for the public's sake, for your sake, and for my own sake.

I have always supposed that what is meant by "moderation" or "moderate counsels," in such matters, is this.

That neither party put any force, moral or otherwise, upon the other party's conscience, or help any one else to do so.

I am content, you see, to argue this matter as a matter of individual conscience, and not as a matter of Church obedience, because my argument is sound either way—upon the low ground, as upon the high ground.

Now, then, what is it exactly that you and your friends are about? You have got from the State just the terms you like, just the conditions of assistance which suit your own conscience; and, having got these—and very comfortable things they are to get—you apply yourselves to help the State in maintaining its refusal to your brethren of the Church of England of such terms and such conditions as suit their conscience.

And this proceeding you are pleased to dignify with the title "moderate counsels."

Now what are my friends and myself about? What have we been asking, but asking in vain, ever since 1846?

That our own conscience be respected.

In asking this we have ever disclaimed all interference with those of our brethren who approve of the existing management clauses. We think them indeed mistaken in their estimate of the clauses themselves and of their tendencies. The mistake is matter of regret to us, but we do not interfere with them. We leave them, as we ask to be left ourselves, to follow their own conscience, without being bribed to sacrifice it.

And this is what we call "moderate counsels."

If I have mistated your part of the case in any way, I shall be glad to have the mistake pointed out.

And I submit, I trust not offensively, but very plainly, that it would be only ridiculous, if it were not painful, to find members of the Church of England clamouring for the unrestricted exercise of private judgment on their own behalf, and at the same moment straining every nerve to help the civil power to coerce what is, to them, the private judgment of their brethren. There is an appearance of selfishness, too, about the proceeding which seems to call for explanation.

What mischief can possibly result to yourself and your friends, to the public, to the Church, to the State, from simply allowing the addition of a management clause E., under which those whose conscience demand the appeal to the Bishop and to none other, the exclusive management of the school by the clergyman of the Parish, and the communicant qualification of the schoolmaster and schoolmistress, or what advantage can possibly accrue to any one, by helping to exclude his brethren from a share in that State assistance which he himself enjoys, no one has ever yet attempted to show; and no wonder, for it is impossible to show.

But in the absence of reason and argument, the "odium theologicum" and party considerations supply the place of both; and so it is, that when my friends and myself labour to secure clause E, which is just as much our plain right as clauses A, B, C, D, are yours, we are

told that we create "an unnecessary and injurious agitation."

The public will, I hope, have now some more correct understanding of the value of your appeal, and some better means of judging which of us it is that really advocates "counsels of moderation."

I beg to add that I purpose to make this letter public, together with any reply that you may see fit to give to it. I have the honour to be, your obedient servant,

GEORGE A. DENISON, Archdeacon of Taunton.

Westwood-park, Droitwich, January 12, 1852.

REVEREND SIR,—I have this morning had the honour of receiving your letter of the 10th instant.

I beg you to believe that I do not intend anything like personal disrespect or discourtesy towards you, when I decline to enter into the "quiet argument" as to what is meant by moderation in such matters, to which you invite me.

I shall not shrink from any course which a sense of public duty may prescribe, but I am unwilling to be led into a controversial correspondence from which I do not think that any benefit would arise, either to the public or to the National Society.

I have the honour to be, Reverend Sir, your obedient servant,

JOHN S. PAKINGTON.

The Venerable Archdeacon Denison.

East Brent, January 14, 1852.

SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 12th instant.

I have only to say upon it, that I regret you should have added your name to the list of those, who, having published grievous charges against their brethren of the Church of England, are not prepared to support and justify their act by any manner of argument or proof.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

GEORGE A. DENISON, Archdeacon of Taunton.

Sir John Pakington, Baronet.

#### THE STATE OF IRELAND.

Lord Rossmore last week convened a meeting of the magistrates of Monaghan, to consider what was necessary to be done, under the present circumstances. They resolved that the "Riband conspiracy" has rendered life and property uncertain and unsafe, and declared that the re enactment of the Insurrection Act was necessary to its suppression. They also suggested that murders "and other offences denominated 'agrarian'" should be tried by the grand jury panel. This "Riband conspiracy," and these "agrarian" outrages, which are causing so much alarm in the North and West of Ireland, are described in a late number of the *Dublin Mail* as follows: of course we do not vouch for the correctness of the description.

"A Riband lodge is an affiliated branch of a secret society, composed exclusively of Roman Catholics, having for its object the twofold purposes of extirpating heresy and regulating the occupation and possession of land. It is both a religious and an agrarian society. Each separate lodge is composed of 40 members; it has a master, secretary, delegate, three committeemen, and 34 members. These are admitted with a solemn oath to yield unlimited obedience to the authorities of the institution, and to maintain the utmost secrecy; they pledge themselves 'to wade knee deep in Protestant blood, and to spare none of the heretic race, from the cradle to the crutch.' The members are known to each other by secret signs and passwords, changed every three months by a central authority, unknown even to the conspirators themselves. They meet by concert at fairs and on market days at some public-house, known to be friendly, and drop in one by one till the room is full, and then proceed to business. They avoid night meetings as much as possible, lest they attract attention; and when they do meet at night, it is generally at dances got up for the purpose, when the junior members are dressed in women's clothes; all that appears to the observer is rustic hilarity and merriment, but the work of death is going on within. When an offence is committed against the barbarous code of law this society has established, either by an agent ejecting non-paying tenants from land for which they are unwilling or unable to pay any rent, or by a farmer in becoming tenant for such ejected land, or by a landlord preferring a Protestant to a Roman Catholic tenant, or by information given for the purpose of bringing to justice members of the association, then, on the next meeting of the lodge, a complaint is brought forward against the offending individual; a jury is forthwith empanelled and sworn, consisting generally of seven members; the master of the lodge acts as judge; the complainant is sworn and examined by counsel; members volunteer evidence on one side or other, and the judge charges the jury; the verdict is brought in by the majority, and the sentence of death pronounced in hideous mockery of justice by the presiding conspirator. The appointment of the executioners next follows; lots are drawn, and they on whom the fatal billet falls must, on pain of death, carry out the merciless sentence. Frequently, however, the trial and sentence are reported to a distant lodge, which furnishes the executioners, on the understanding of the service being returned in kind, when demanded. There is no hurry about the matter; all is conducted in the most sedate and business-like manner. The victim is watched, his habits examined and reported, accurate information of all his movements obtained; a time is appointed for his execution; if unfavourable, it is deferred with perfect coolness; if favourable, he is executed without remorse and without mercy."

Meanwhile the "Defenders" are calling meetings to expose the proselytisers, and the Bishop of Galway endeavouring to put the decrees of the Synod of Thurles in execution. Dr. O'Donnell has publicly desired Dr. O'Toole, vice-president of the Queen's

College, Galway, to resign his office; the vice-president has declined. There seems likely to be as much anarchy in the Roman Catholic as in the English Protestant Church.

Mrs. Cosgrave, the wife of the head constable at Loughrea, murdered her two children on Thursday week by cutting their throats. The *Galway Mercury* says:—

"No blame can attach to any party beside the unhappy woman herself, nor can any cause be assigned which might lead to the commission of the fearful deed. She was a person of a morbid and brooding disposition, much prone to novel reading, and she lived in a very secluded manner during the last nine months, but her conduct to her husband was most affectionate."

The legal authorities presiding over the courts in Nenagh, the counties of Kerry and Waterford, congratulate the juries on the lightness of the calendar. Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary, are quiet; Monaghan, Louth, and Armagh, are disturbed. What a contrast to the state of things in 1845-6! Kerry, headed by the Earl of Kenmare, is even demanding a decrease of the police force.

The *Newry Telegraph* tells us, that as Joseph Brady, an assistant bailiff, employed under the Earl of Charlemont, was returning home to his residence near Camla, in the county of Armagh, on Monday night, he was attacked from behind by three ruffians, one of whom knocked him down with a heavy bludgeon. The whole three fell on him, beating him on the head and about the chest until they thought him dead, when they departed. As soon as the unfortunate man came to his senses, he crawled to a farmhouse. The tenantry on Lord Charlemont's property in that neighbourhood have combined in determination to pay no rent.

The *Newry Examiner* records another dreadful attempt at murder, the locality of the outrage this time being that part of the county of Armagh adjoining the northern extremity of the county of Louth. It appears that as Mr. Meredith Chambre, Justice of the Peace, of Hawthorn-lodge, was returning from the petty sessions of Forkhill this evening, he was fired at, wounded, carried first to the house of a peasant, and thence to his residence. His horse and car ran away home, and his wife, who was dressed for dinner, instantly ran out, and followed by a servant, hurried to the scene of the assassination. Mr. Chambre is not expected to recover. It is said that the police have succeeded in arresting two men, one of whom was half undressed in bed, and in his pocket was found a "riband order," on which his own name and that of Mr. Chambre were written.

The meeting of Mr. Fortescue's tenants was held on Monday. While all agreed that if Mr. Fortescue had been menaced with assassination the would-be assassins were execrable, there was a difference of opinion respecting the truth of the allegation; the Reverend Mr. Marmion asserting that he was satisfied now that a Riband conspiracy did exist, and the Reverend Mr. Callan contradicting him point blank. The resolutions were highly favourable to Mr. Fortescue.

#### AMERICA COMING TO EUROPE.

KOSSUTH AT WASHINGTON.

The good old English habit of dining in amity flourishes in the land of our brethren over the Atlantic; and at the banquets of rival statesmen are uttered the heartiest words of welcome to the heroic refugee from the nation whose forefathers defended Europe against Moslemism. The last mail brought by the Pacific, which left New York on the 10th, and anchored in the Mersey on Wednesday, is full of important facts and indications of the state of feeling in relation to Kossuth. Throughout the week, ending Saturday the 10th, successive demonstrations, public and private, had been held at Washington. Kossuth had dined with the President privately on the 3rd of January; had visited all the governmental departments; dined on the 6th at the House of Senator Seward, in company with Mr. Webster, General Cass, and General Sam Houston; he was received by the House of Representatives on the 7th, and welcomed by the Speaker in the name of the House; and on the 7th he was present at the Congressional banquet, so called, because the three hundred persons present were chiefly members of Congress. This was a most eventful occasion, and is fairly the starting point of the new foreign policy of the United States.

Mr. King, the President of the Senate, occupied the chair; and seated on his right were Kossuth and Mr. Lynn Boyd, Speaker of the Lower House, and on his left, Daniel Webster; Secretaries Corwin and Stewart, Judge Wayne, General Houston, and Senator Seward, near at hand. The cloth being removed, the ladies admitted, and the loyal American toasts drunk, Mr. King gave the toast "Hungary," represented by their welcome and honoured guest.

"Having proved herself worthy to be free by the virtues and valour of her sons, the law of nations and the dictates of justice alike demand that she shall have fair play in her struggle for independence. (Most enthusiastic cheering.)"

Governor Kossuth arose, when the cheering had subsided; and, bowing feelingly, began his oration as follows:—

"Sir,—As once Cynæus, the Epirote, stood among the senators of Rome, who, with an earnest word of self-

conscious majesty, controlled the condition of the world and arrested mighty Kings in their ambitious march, thus, full of admiration and of reverence, I stand before you, legislators of the new Capitol—that glorious hall of your people's collected majesty. The Capitol of old yet stands, but the spirit has departed from it and come over to yours, purified by the air of liberty. The old stands a mournful monument of the fragility of human things—yours as a sanctuary of eternal rights. The old beamed with the red lustre of conquest, now darkened by oppression's gloomy night—yours beams with freedom's bright ray. The old absorbed the world by its own centralized glory—yours protects your own nation against absorption even by itself. The old was awful with irresistible power—yours is glorious with having restricted it. At the view of the old, nations trembled—at the view of yours, humanity hopes. To the old, misfortune was only introduced with fettered hands to kneel at the triumphant conqueror's heels—to yours, the triumph of introduction is granted to unfortunate exiles, invited to the honour of a seat; and where kings and Caesars can never be hailed for their powers, might, and wealth, there the persecuted chief of a down-trodden nation is welcomed as your great Republic's guest, precisely because he is persecuted, helpless, and poor. In the old, the terrible was the rule; in yours, protection to the oppressed, malediction to ambitious oppressors, and consolation to the vanquished in a just cause. And while out of the old a conquered world was ruled, you, in yours, provide for the common confederate interests of a territory larger than the conquered world of the old. There sat men boasting their will to be the sovereigns of the world; here sit men whose glory is to acknowledge the laws of nature and of nature's God, and to do that their sovereign, the people, wills. Sir, there is history in these parallels. History of past ages and history of future centuries may be often recorded in a few words. The small particulars to which the passion of living men clings with fervent zeal, as if the fragile fingers of men could arrest the rotation of destiny's wheel—these particulars die away. It is the issue which makes history, and that is always logical. There is a necessity of consequences wherever the necessity of position exists. Principles are the alpha; they must finish with the omega—and they will."

He recounted the story of his release; he affectionately thanked the Americans for their generous interference; he told again the story of his struggles, reverses, victories, and defeats; he attacked centralization with his customary force; he made a touching allusion, in these words, to Henry Clay:—

"One of your great statesmen—now, to my deep sorrow, bound to the sick bed of far advanced age—alas, that I am deprived of the advice which his wisdom could have imparted to me!—your great statesman told the world, thirty years ago, that Paris was transferred to St. Petersburg. What would he now say, when St. Petersburg is transferred to Paris, and Europe is but an appendix to Russia? Alas! Europe can no more secure to Europe fair play. Albion only remains; but even Albion casts a sorrowful glance over the waves."

He described the state of Europe—terror ruling from Paris to Pesh—as a "sensible silence," only disturbed by the rattling of Napoleon's fratricidal musketry and the groans of the martyrs of liberty in the dungeons of Europe. He made the following statement on the intervention, or, as General Cass picturesquely calls it, the "hands off" doctrine:—

"Gentlemen, I know where I stand. No honour, no encouraging generosity, will make me ever forget where I stand and what is due from me to you. Here my duty is silently to await what you in your wisdom will be pleased to pronounce about that which public opinion knows to be my prayer and my aim; and be it your will to pronounce, or be it your will not to take notice of it, I will understand your will, and bow before it with devotion—hopeless, perhaps—but my heart full of admiration, love, and gratitude to your generous people, to your glorious land. But one single word, even here, I may be permitted to say—only such a word as may secure me from being misunderstood. I came to the noble-minded people of the United States to claim its generous operative sympathy for the impending struggle of oppressed freedom on the European continent, and I freely interpreted the hopes and wishes which these oppressed nations entertain; but as to your great Republic, as a State, as a power on earth, I stand before the statesmen, senators, and legislators of that Republic, only to ascertain from their wisdom and experience what is their judgment upon a question of national law and international right? I hoped, and now hope, that they will, by the foregoing events on the other great continent, feel induced to pronounce in time their vote about that law and those rights; and I hoped and hope that, pronouncing their vote, it will be in favour of the broad principles of international justice, and consonant with their republican institutions and their democratic life. That is all. I know, and Europe knows, the immense weight of such a pronouncement from such a place. But never had I the impious wish to try to entangle this great Republic into difficulties inconsistent with its own welfare, its own security, its own interest. I rather repeatedly and earnestly declared that a war on this account by your country is utterly impossible, and a mere phantom. I always declared that the United States remained masters of their actions, and under every circumstance will act as they judge consistent with the supreme duties to themselves. But I said and say, that such a declaring of just principles would ensure to the nations of Europe fair play in their struggle for freedom and independence, because the declaration of such a power as your Republic will be respected even where it should not be liked; and Europe's oppressed nations will feel cheered in resolution and doubled in strength, to maintain the decision of their American brethren on

their own behalf with their own lives. There is an immense power in the idea to be right, when this idea is sanctioned by a nation like yours; and when the foreboding future will become present, there is an immense field for private benevolence and sympathy upon the basis of the broad principle of international justice pronounced in the sanctuary of your people's collective majesty."

He denied that he had ever said his mission to America was a failure. This oration was most enthusiastically applauded. Mr. Webster followed Kossuth in responding to his own health. He made a long speech, but the pith was in the last sentence, which he gave as a "sentiment."

"Hungarian independence, Hungarian control of her own destinies, and Hungary as a distinct nationality among the nations. (Great applause.)"

The next toast was—"The right of States, only valuable when subject to the free control of those to whom they are appointed; utterly worthless to be determined by the sword of foreign interference."

Mr. Douglas responded. He said that the right of a nation to regulate its internal concerns was too clear to require argument, and advocated the recognition of the independence of every nation as soon as established; he deprecated the objection of despots to an interference in vindication of the laws of nations, on behalf of liberty, when they have always interfered against liberty. Whether he would interfere in any case would depend upon circumstances. He would never enter into an alliance with England to repress the Autocrat of Russia until she should have done justice to Ireland. Before interposing he would consider the consequences to follow, and the principles involved. There might be a case in which it would be necessary to their own safety to interpose, should Russia interfere again. Then we shall decide whether we shall interfere; but in the meantime we shall do all in our power to sustain the principle of international law. In conclusion he gave "Hungary;" when she shall make her next struggle for liberty may the friends of freedom throughout the world proclaim to the ears of all European despots, Hands off, a clear field, a fair fight, and God will protect the right. (Applause.)

Mr. Florence, of Philadelphia, proposed the health of General Cass; and the General replied.

"It rejoiced my heart to see here this guest among us—the leader of his country's revolution, the asserter of the rights of man, and the martyr of the independence of nations welcomed to our shores. (Applause.) Sir (turning to Kossuth), the ocean, more merciful than the rod of tyrants, has sent you to a country of freedom and of safety. (Applause.) That was a proud day for you, but it was a prouder day for us when you left the shores of old Helleasport and put your foot upon an American deck. Protected by American cannon, with the stars of our country floating over you, you could defy the world in arms. (Applause.) And sir, here, in the land of Washington, it is not a barren welcome that I mean to give you—it is not a mere salutation, 'I am glad to see you;' but much further than that I am willing to go. I am willing to lay down the great principles of national rights, and adhere to them. (Applause.) I will not say, 'Craven be the man that does not respond to it;' for, thank God, we are in a land of liberty, where every man has a right to enjoy and express his own opinions in his own way; but I will say that he who is not willing to respond, and in an effectual manner, to this cry of liberty from the old hemisphere, his heart does not beat like mine. (Applause.) No, my fellow-citizens. No; I am for the largest liberty to the largest number over the whole face of the earth. (Applause.) My friends who do not agree in that sentiment have no feeling in common with me. Now, I am willing to say and maintain that those despotic powers of Europe, when they put their hand upon Hungary and marched the Cossack and the Pandour upon the Danube, to put down the first flame of liberty, they offended against all laws of nations recognized throughout the civilized world. Well, gentlemen, I am an old man—(laughter, and cries of 'No, you ain't!')—but I tell you I am approaching my threescore years and ten. Half a century ago, I crossed the mountains a boy, on foot, and God be thanked for the institutions of this country and the favour of my fellow citizens that have given me the privilege now of maintaining human right in such a presence as this. (Applause.) The sun of heaven never shone on such a Government as this. And shall we sit blindfolded, our arms crossed, and say to tyranny, 'Prevail in every other region of the world?' (Cries of 'No, no.') I thank you for the response. That is my feeling. Now, my friends, I am willing to say that is the law of nations. (Laughter and applause.) Every independent nation under heaven has a right to establish just such a Government as it pleases. And if the oppressed of any nation wish to throw off their shackles, they have the right, without the interference of any other; and the land which was first freed by the Father of his country may sympathize with every other nation which unfurls the banner of freedom. (Applause.) And I am willing, as a member of Congress, to pass a declaration to-morrow, in the name of the American people, maintaining that sentiment (great cheering); and I will go home to my constituents, and if they disapprove of the act, as I know they won't, I will never come back here again. (Laughter.) I am willing to go further. I am willing to say that no nation under heaven, whether its chief magistrate wears a hat or a crown, has any right to interfere in the affairs of another nation struggling for human liberty. I am willing to make that declaration in the name of the American people, and I am willing to leave it, the very moment when it is necessary to act, to those who are to determine the course necessary to take,

under proper times and circumstances, as the case may require. (Applause.)"

The hospitality of Turkey was acknowledged by Kossuth; and, after a little unimportant but hearty speaking, the banquet terminated.

The last great banquet to Kossuth in Washington was given on the following evening, by the Jackson Democratic Association. Five hundred persons were present, including all the leaders now in Washington of the Democratic party. Kossuth's speech was, as usual, brilliant; and he concluded by expressing a hope that England and the United States would forget and bury past animosities, and unite in giving liberty to mankind.

Kossuth is now on his progress through the West. He was to leave Washington on the 12th for Annapolis. Thence he will proceed to Baltimore, Cincinnati, St. Louis, New Orleans, Charleston, &c. He will then return to New York, and visit Albany, Buffalo, the Falls of Niagara, and Boston, from which port he will sail for England.

"Substantial Aid for Hungary" is the title of an article in the *Philadelphia Ledger*. It is a report of a meeting to devise means for rendering that aid. The speakers were Judge Kane, Colonel Small, Colonel Page, the Honourable William D. Kelly, and Dr. Elder, who submitted a long address from the people of Philadelphia to the people of the United States in behalf of intervention. Judge Kane asked, "Why then hesitate, since we have the right? What do we fear? Why not meet the crisis which no ingenious policy can avert?" There was no safety in cowardice. The prevailing conviction was, that the destiny of America was bound up with the destiny of Europe, and that it would be crime to stand by and behold quietly the infraction of all national law by the despotic powers. It was resolved, that Hungary deserved, and should receive, not only sympathy, but substantial aid. Colonel Small asked, "What do you think the immortal Jackson would have said upon the subject of non-intervention at this time? 'Halt there, Mr. Bear, this is none of your business; we'll just draw a ring and show the parties fair play; but if you do mix in, look out for yourself; I'll be in, too, by the Eternal!'" The Colonel said war was inevitable. "We can forget our old grudges against England," he continued; "unite with her and whip all the despots of Europe, and make her a Republic afterwards. Let us do it." These picturesque sallies were received with tremendous cheering.

#### THE ARCTIC EXPEDITION.

EXTRACT FROM THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF AN OFFICER OF THE ERBES.

At Sea, June 18, 1845. About 900 miles east of Cape Farewell (Greenland).

My dear —,—Nothing has been written for you these last few days—not because I had nothing to say, or did not think of you, but because I have had plenty to do in the writing and calculating way; and because, just as I was beginning to get paper and ink ready, I found I was in bed, and fell asleep. To-day is "Waterloo day," and we drank the Duke's health at Sir John's table. There was a talk before we left England of a brevet on this day; if this be true, I think it more than probable that I shall get the rank of Captain. With this idea, I took a glass of brandy and water at ten o'clock, which, allowing for difference of longitude, answers to half-past seven in London, and drank your healths, in petto—fancying you might be drinking wine. In fact, we took an imaginary glass of wine together, and I don't care how soon we may take a real one. Now I am laughing, for Reid has just said, scratching his head, "Why, mister Jems, you never seem to me to sleep at all; you're always writin'!" I tell him that when I do sleep I do twice as much other people in the same time. Now for the journal.

15th.—Wind fair and strong, with a high sea; but we carried on much sail—heeling over much; and we actually fancy we went nine knots. In the evening it moderated, and the weather was clear and cool.

16th.—Calm day, sea glassy smooth, cloudy weather, no sun. After breakfast I went on board the Terror, to see Captain Crozier about my "Fox" observations (Fox being a dipping-needle invented by him). Fairholme and Le Visconte followed in the India-rubber boat, which was being tried when you came to Woolwich. Crozier and Little, First Lieutenant, and Lieutenant Griffiths, the agent for transport, dined on board with Sir John.

17th.—The sun shone out, and we had a smooth day; air cold. Since the 11th the thermometer on deck in the shade has never been above 50 degrees or below 45 degrees, night or day; generally 45 degrees or 48 degrees. At night cloudy, with a bright light on the horizon to the north-east, which Gore says is aurora borealis. Reid calls it "ice-blink." I say it is the reflection of sunset, though it is north-east. It looks like a large town on fire, twenty miles off.

To-day (18th) we set to work, and got a catalogue made of all our books, and find we have amongst us a most splendid collection. The "crow's-nest" is up—which is usually a cask lined with canvas—at the foretopmast-head, for a man to stand in to look



out for channels in the ice. With us it is a sort of canvas cylinder, hooped, and is at the main-topgallant-mast-head (if you know where that is). Reid, who will have the peculiar privilege of being perched up there, says it is a very expensive one.

19th.—Twelve o'clock at night. I suppose we are 140 or 150 miles from Cape Farewell. Blowing hard, but not a rough sea, although there is a swell. When I say hard, I mean fresh; we can carry much sail, and do. I can scarcely manage to get Sir John to shorten sail at all. Still cloudy. At half-past ten, a bright light appeared in the north-west, which was set down as aurora, but turned out really to be the reflection of sunset. The clouds and mist moved off as if a blanket were being withdrawn, leaving an orange-coloured clearness underneath in the form of an arch with a well-defined dark horizon, which clearness turned out to be real clear sky, cold looking and fine; and now the officer of the watch comes to tell me the wind is lighter, and we certainly are quieter. "Shake a reef out, set the fore topgallant-sail" (the main being set). "Call me at six, if anything happens." Good night, good night!

24th.—In Davis' Straits. Cape Desolation at noon to-day, bearing east ninety miles, but we can't see it. We have just done with a glorious gale of wind, which has been sending us on in grand style. I wrote last on Thursday night, and shall sum up from thence. On Friday, the 20th (and Thursday night also, though I did go to bed so quietly), we kicked and plunged and danced in a tremendous manner, the sea running all manner of ways; the day was nearly calm, with a very heavy swell, the ship rolling deeply. A number of "bottle noses," a species of whale about twenty-eight feet long, came dancing about us; their head is very peculiar, and unless they are close, so as to see their beak under water, one fancies their foreheads are snouts poked up above the water. All this night we jumped and danced again with a strong breeze dead foul for us, which at midnight had turned into a complete gale; the air cold, though the thermometer stood fixed at 42 degrees. On Saturday calm again, and smooth water. Molimaules, and trees with the bark rubbed off by ice, floating about. Sir John at dinner; most amusing with anecdotes of an Indian chief, whom he met in the journey in which he suffered so much—named, I think, Akatcho—who appears to have been a fine character.

Sunday, 22nd.—It began to blow hard suddenly at seven in the morning from east (you must recollect that our course is westerly). We struggled through the church service on the lower deck, the ship rolling and tumbling much, the sea curling astern beautifully.

Yesterday, 23rd, we had the highest sea I think I ever saw; it was very fine. I know nothing finer than a gale of wind, particularly when you are running before it. We had a few seas on our decks, one of which found its way down on our table, just as we had done dinner. I dined at our mess to-day. Sir John finding his guests could not hold on and eat too. We are packed close, and can't move very far. But the good humour of everyone is perfect; and we do dance before it so finely—I mean before the wind. It rained hard all yesterday and all night, and this morning a glorious sun and a clear blue air sent us all up to dry ourselves and our clothes. We have gradually altered our course, and are now steering due north. At noon to-day Cape Desolation was due east ninety miles, so we are in Davis' Straits. The sea is now moderately smooth and the wind still fair. I am writing this at half-past ten, in broad daylight. Sir John says that in his voyage to Hudson's Bay he passed the very spot we were on yesterday, and was sailing through ice. We have yet seen no ice or land. The sea is beginning to get colder. The air still at 41 degrees, but to day it felt delightfully cold. The monkey has, however, just put on a blanket, frock, and trousers, which the sailors have made him (or rather her), so I suppose it is getting cold. Adieu for the present.

Wednesday, 25th.—At one this morning I was on deck looking at the west coast of Greenland and an iceberg—although the land was forty miles off, and the berg six or eight. We sailed along it before the wind until noon; and the thermometer, when I went on deck, had gone down to 39 degrees, though it still keeps at 42 degrees in the day. The coast of Greenland looks rugged, and sparkling with snow, the shadows and ravines forming deep black marks; we regret not being a little nearer to see it better. This morning one snowy iceberg was to be seen a long way off. I am now writing, eleven p.m., latitude 63 degrees, near about a place marked on the chart as Lichtenfels. The sea, as the sun set half an hour ago, was of the most delicate blue in the shadows; perfectly calm—so calm that the Terror's mast heads are reflected close alongside, though she is half a mile off. The air is delightfully cool and bracing, and everybody is in good humour either with himself or his neighbours. I have been on deck all day, taking observations. Goodair is catching the most extraordinary animals in a net, and is in ecstasies. Gore and Des Vaux are over the side, poking with nets and long poles, with cigars in their mouths, and Omar laughing; he is really an original, and a delightfully dry fellow. I am very sleepy and tired, but did not like to go to bed without writing on the

first day in which we have seen Arctic Land. Reid says "We shall soon see the Huskims," which he says are vulgarly called "Yaks" by the whalers, and "Huski's" for shortness.

#### INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

We have received a copy of a "Report Suggestive" on education, issued by the Parent Board of Irish Manufacture, in Dublin, a portion of which we gladly publish. The report was agreed to and ordered to be printed on the 5th of January. The first position is, that the primary "duty of a State is to educate its people." They then contend that the education should begin from the cradle.

"Familiar educational papers should be scattered and read in each farm-house and cottage of the island. Mothers should be taught how to rear their children. They should be made aware that to beat them when they cry or misbehave—to curse and damn them, and call them 'brats,' 'puppies,' 'little villains,' when they are perverse—to set them to 'play' to get rid of their importunities or their care—to let them amuse themselves in torturing a cat, a dog, a bird, &c.—to eat and drink all things and everything that comes in their way—to go from day to day unwashed, unclothed, with filthy ragged dress—to have no ideas implanted in their minds but that of coarse tumbling, cruelty, unbridled appetites, thumping, boxing, wrestling, swearing, gasconade, and bravado—prepares their children to become ruffians. These tendencies take root in the child before the age of three, are confirmed at seven, and never after can, by any system of moral, religious, or collegiate education, be eradicated. After education only hides these tendencies, which are sure to break out at intervals even in persons occupying the highest places in every station of life."

And on this basis they rest their requirements.

"In the first place, we should require of the State the annual appropriation of £500,000 to the purposes of education for the next three years; and one million a-year for each six millions of the population ever afterwards. To fortify this demand we have only to show the governing powers what is going on in the United States, to which our countrymen are flying. In the State of Massachusetts (whose capital is Boston), the population is 900,000; the annual sum levied for, and applied to education, is 750,000 dollars, at 4s. 2d. the dollar—that is, £150,000 sterling, or about 3s. 9d. a-year to each person. To Ireland, with a population of 6,500,000, only £120,000 are annually appropriated for education; or 4d. a-year to each person. In the State of New York, with a population of 3,000,000, there are 15,000 paid teachers, besides inspectors and state officers of education. In Ireland, with double the population, there are but 5000 teachers, including all superiors, inspectors, and officers; so that the Americans estimate education beyond us in the ratio of about 35 to 5. When we add to their schools their teeming, untaxed newspaper press, throwing out its million of newspapers every morning, at a halfpenny and a penny each, we may then estimate the immense distance we are behind them, and be made aware of some one of the reasons why, and to what, our people are daily flying.

"If we would make one step towards arresting the wasting 'Exodus'—one available step towards raising up this fallen people—we must look this great question steadily and at once in the very face.

"If we are told by the authorities that 'money is scarce,' we answer, 'you find two millions one hundred thousand pounds per annum to support 'paupers,' who are paupers merely because they were not educated; we answer 'you find one million sterling a year for arresting, trying, condemning, and transporting 'criminals,' who are criminals only because they were not educated; we answer, 'you find five hundred thousand pounds a year to pay, maintain, and discipline twelve or thirteen thousand policemen, who are required merely because the people are not educated; we answer 'you find two millions a year to support the one-third of the whole British army permanently in Ireland, under the plea of law and order, who demoralise our young people, and which law and order would never be disturbed if the people were educated.' We are told that money is scarce at the very moment the Lord Chancellor gets £8000 per annum, the Chief Baron gets £6000 per annum, the judges get each £4000 to 5000 a year for trying felons; at a moment that chairmen of sessions get £800 to £1000 a year for trying petty thieves; that seventy-one stipendiary magistrates get from £300 to £500 a year each for punishing turnip stealers; and that thousands of others are getting from two hundred to two thousand pounds a year each for some nominal 'services' which it is said they are performing for the people.

"Thus, then, are our resources applied under the account of Ireland:—

For supporting the poor (i. e., the ignorant)	£2,100,000
For supporting and transporting criminals (i. e., the ignorant)	1,000,000
For supporting the police in Ireland	500,000
For supporting the army in Ireland	1,750,000
For supporting the judges, stipendiary magistrates, and other persons principally occupied in trying 'criminals' (i. e., the ignorant)	100,000
For supporting 200 chief idlers about our courts and public offices, under pretence of serving the public, at salaries ranging from £250 to £750 per annum	100,000
	£5,550,000

"Five millions five hundred thousand pounds a year for agencies of coercion or of demoralization! One hundred and twenty thousand pounds—only the forty-sixth part—for education!

"We would suggest that every public school, especially in the agricultural districts, have attached to it a small

farm and a large garden. In the denser cities and towns the male schools should be established in the outskirts, where at least the accommodation of a tolerable garden and park could be had. The female school should be quite separate and distant from the male school, and have in every case a garden. Every school should have baths, which can now-a-days be easily fitted up and be well supplied with water, soap, towels, combs, brushes, &c. Physiology, or the law of our bodies, should be taught in every school to the children—a papier machie skeleton or manikin—male and female—should be had in each school; the male skeleton for the male school, to be lectured upon by the schoolmaster; the female manikin in the female school, to be lectured upon by the schoolmistress. By teaching the growing generation the laws of life and health, we would diminish irregular and filthy habits, uncleanness, and a world of that sickness for which the working classes of Ireland pay so dearly in time lost and money to doctors.

"We would next have primary female monitresses attached to each school, who should visit the cottages and houses of the people in a given district, and give kind and patient instructions to mothers about the management of their little children—about cleaning, dressing, and managing them—about ventilation, food, exercise, and chastisement. These monitresses should be very carefully selected, having themselves been properly instructed in the district model schools. They should be imperatively enjoined against interfering with the religious ideas of the people in any way; but to devote their sole energies on their mission, to reasoning and explaining with the mothers of young children against chastising, beating, scolding, and cursing their little ones; and teach them that children should be talked or reasoned out of their evil tendencies, and should not be either beaten or caressed, or purchased into good behaviour. These latter practices do more mischief to a people than the worst laws ever enacted by the worst tyranny recorded by history.

"Next to reasoning with the very young, instead of coercing them, is the importance of employing them. Now, very little children will much sooner and much rather learn to make a babyhouse, or a car, or a doll, than learn a letter. The impulse of construction is an instinct which shows itself the first. The child must be doing something or making something all the time that it is not asleep or taking food; and instead of allowing it to use its brawny arms thumping its mother or its nurse, the said nurse or mother should teach it to make something, to construct something even while the child is yet a nursing. A thousand plans and toys can be invented for the use of children tending to develop the natural impulse of construction. We see that the bee and the beaver, without any pen-and-ink education, become, by the natural impulse of construction, excellent builders. The bee observes a strict mathematical calculation in all his beautiful architecture! The beaver manifests the forethought and caution of a military chieftain in erecting his house! The human species is eminently endowed with the instinct of construction; and, therefore, there is the less difficulty in teaching each mortal to provide for all his or her wants; it only requires that they be taught all the way up from the cradle to construct something useful, and then we have a nation of the best artificers in the world. Little girls of the age of four or five years, can be taught to knit, sew, plait straw, make baskets, at the same school or by the same person who teaches them their alphabet. Little boys of the same age should be taught to build little houses, little ships, make little chairs, tables, ploughs, gates, wagons, wooden spades, wooden knives, wooden forks, wooden spoons, cloth boots, hats and caps. All these exercises may be taught with the alphabet to children under five years of age, instead of 'playing,' and will prove a relaxation, and, indeed, a source of recreation to their minds.

"We shall now follow them to the public school, where they should be sent at the ages of six or seven. Every public school for males should have a loom, a turning lathe, a small furnace, a modelling room, a bench and vice, files, and sundry other tools for making tin ware, &c., wooden ware, &c., chisels for stone cutting, &c., together with the skeletons or manikins already alluded to; the baths, the large garden, and the small farm; three hours a day for book education, and three hours a day for learning to make and use machines, for learning the chemical components of earths, metals, and vegetables; learning to cultivate the farm or the garden as a recreation, and relief from study, or the exercise of the memory; to draw and copy the flowers in the garden upon a thousand tablets and objects. This kind of education would give us, in a few years, a different order of people to what we have at present—an order of men and women that would not give much employment to judges, juries, lawyers, or policemen, nor to transport ships or poorhouses—an order of men and women that would improve the character of the nation, and encourage the historian to record its proud annals."

#### PROGRESS OF ASSOCIATION.

##### THE "EMPLOYERS' STRIKE"

Under the pressing circumstances of their case, the engineers held a meeting on Sunday last at the Phoenix, Stepney, to hear a report from Mr. Newton, just returned from Lancashire. Mr. Eglin occupied the chair.

Mr. Newton, who was loudly cheered, described the favourable reception with which he had met at the different meetings which he had attended, and at which a desire had been unanimously expressed to support the position assumed by the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society.

"He had visited Bury, Oldham, and Manchester; and everywhere the same feeling had prevailed—a most important fact, when it was remembered that those districts

comprised between 3000 and 4000 members out of the 12,000 of which the society consisted. (*Hear, hear.*) The all-engrossing subject of attention was the coöperative shop in Lancashire, for the purpose of which the Executive Council were in treaty. He had seen the proprietors, and possessed himself of all necessary particulars, and he could assure them that it was one which would be capable of affording employment for 1000 men. (*Hear, hear.*) He would not say that it could employ 1000 men with the present tools, for such was not the case. It could now only employ 500 men at one time; but by adopting a system of relays—each set of men working eight hours—the shop might be kept constantly open, and 1500 men might be so employed; and in that case there were orders now on hand which would find work for three months for the whole 1500 men. (*Cheers.*) But more than this was in their favour, as he was assured by the proprietor that, if the present crisis continued, he could, without trouble, obtain work enough for a twelve-month. (*Cheers.*) Let the £10,000 required by the Executive be voted, and the balance of the amount necessary to complete the purchase and carry on the concern might easily be obtained from men who had expressed themselves favourable to the movement. The work done at the establishment was of a similar nature to that done by Messrs. Hibbert and Platt themselves, and it must not be forgotten that the fathers of some of the members of that firm had been mere operatives; they had started, perhaps, with a capital of not more than £1000, and yet they now employed 1500 men; the value of their establishment was supposed to be not less than £150,000, and their profits had last year been returned to the Income Tax Commissioners as £45,000. (*Hear, hear.*) These profits were high, and they came from the labour of the 1500 workmen, and if divided among them would add £30 to each man's annual income. (*Hear, hear.*) Such a result from such a beginning justified them in being sanguine upon the success of the coöperative system; for if £150,000 would yield an annual profit of £45,000, and had arisen from a small outlay, such as he had intimated in the case of Messrs. Hibbert and Platt, what might they not do by starting with a capital, as they could do, of £40,000 or £50,000, when the men were actuated by the incentive of working for themselves? (*Hear, hear.*) He had never in his life seen so much enthusiasm displayed by any body of men as had been displayed by the Manchester men on this subject, and the same spirit had been displayed at a meeting of the iron trade which he had attended at Bury on Saturday night. The men there expressed an earnest desire that the Executive Council would push on in this matter, without waiting to see what the employers might seem disposed to do; that in any event the coöperative system should be carried out, so that they might reap the profits of their own labour. (*Hear, hear.*) As a proof that in those districts a feeling of complete confidence in the Executive existed, he would mention that the men of Manchester alone, remaining in work, last night subscribed upwards of £200 towards the support of those who had been thrown out (*cheers*), and that sum would have been much larger but for the fact that several large firms paid wages fortnightly, and last night was not pay night. Next week, however, those men would pay a double amount. He hoped the London districts would be animated by the same spirit—that they would raise small sums and form small shops, as they could by that means do more to settle the question than could be done by waiting to be sent for by their employers." (*Hear, hear.*)

The following correspondence appeared in the *Times* of Monday. An abstract of Lord Cranworth's letter will be found in the Postscript of our last number.

"To the Editor of the 'Times'."

"SIR,—With reference to the letter of Lord Cranworth which appears in the *Times* of Saturday, and to the leading article which accompanies it, allow me to hand you for publication the enclosed letter from Viscount Goderich, Mr. Hughes, and Mr. Vansittart, and to say that Lord Cranworth was never appointed or selected as arbitrator by the Executive Council; that he never heard the evidence; that, in fact, he refused to accept the office of arbitrator; and that the conclusions he has come to rest upon a view of the case which includes demands we have never made, and which are opposed to our opinions. Once for all, we say that if an arbitration can be agreed on, we will bow to the decision; but it must be an arbitration taking into account the real facts, and not assuming that we ask for the discharge of unskilled labourers, or the equalising, fixing, or increasing the rate of wages.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"W. ALLAN, General Secretary.

"General Office, 25, Little Alie-street, White-chapel, London, January 18."

"7, Old-square, Lincoln's-inn, January 17.

"GENTLEMEN,—Lord Cranworth's letter to Lord Ashburton, published in the *Times* of to-day, may do your cause some harm, as it is grounded on a misapprehension of the facts of the case.

"As we were the persons whom you trusted to lay the question of arbitration before Lords Ashburton and Cranworth, it was our duty to take care that they understood clearly the points at issue, and what you really did ask.

"Now, Lord Cranworth says, 'The men insist that the masters shall not employ unskilled labourers.' We can only say that when we made the application to Lord Ashburton we knew perfectly well that you made no such demand as this.

"Again, we knew perfectly well that you did not ask for a law compelling masters and men to submit to any arbitration whatsoever. What you did ask for was, the formation of such a board as exists in France, under the title of Conseil de Prud'hommes, to which any masters and men who choose to submit voluntarily to its jurisdiction,

and bind themselves to abide by its decisions, can refer all disputes between them; and you told us you felt sure that all masters and men who wished for fair play and nothing more would be glad to submit voluntarily to such a tribunal as this.

"As your case, through our means, has been put on false merits before the public, we think that you are entitled to this statement from us, and shall leave it with you to make what use you please of it.

"We remain your faithfully,  
"GODERICH, THOS. HUGHES, A. H. VANSITTART."

The engineers of Manchester and Bury met on Friday week, and passed firm but moderate resolutions to the effect that ten hours was sufficient for a day's labour, and asserting—"That no alteration in the custom of any shop can be made, of permanent advantage to either masters or men, unless the same can be made by the consent of both parties. That while we believe it is impossible entirely to dispense with working overtime, we would respectfully request our employers to consider the propriety of making no more than is imperatively requisite, in cases of broken down and repair jobs."

At the meeting of the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society on Tuesday night, Mr. Allan, the General Secretary, stated, for the information of the council, that although the time originally appointed for the returns of the votes upon the coöperative grant of £10,000 from the general fund of the society had that day expired, returns from only seventy-two branches out of 120 had arrived at the offices. He was, however, glad to state that, with the exception of those from three small branches, the returns received were in favour of the proposition of the council; in fact, the votes in sixty-nine out of the seventy-two districts referred to, were returned as almost unanimous upon the point.

No active steps, it was understood, could be taken with regard to the establishment of the coöperative shops until the receipt of returns from the other branches, which are expected to arrive in a few days.

Mr. Allan also stated that he had received information from Liverpool, that the firm of Fawcett and Co. had given notice of their intention to discharge the society men in their employ at the end of the present week; and further, that Mr. Macgregor, of the Vulcan Works, had issued a document pledging his workmen to renounce all connection with the Amalgamated Society, and that those who refused to sign would be discharged on Saturday.

The result of these notices, we understand, will be to throw out of employment many additional hands.

A donation of £10 from Mr. William Coningham, of Brighton, accompanied by the following letter, was handed in by the Secretary:—

"20, Sussex-square, Brighton, January 20, 1852.

"Sir,—I am convinced that you will have the moral support of the public, whatever may be said to the contrary, in a movement to limit the hours of toil for the operative, whose bodily strength is his only patrimony. An adjustment of the system of piecework is a more complicated question; but if the employers, as well as the employed, be sincere in their desire to arrive at an equitable solution, then a fair adjustment may be made. When the masters, in their 'statement,' say 'we claim, and are resolved to assert, the right of every British subject to do what we (!) like with our own,' they appear to have forgotten that property, or capital, has its duties as well as its rights; and that the rights of the poor and the rights of the rich are reciprocal privileges, the former being the condition on which the latter are enjoyed. As a proof of my sympathy for your cause, I beg to forward £10 to the fund of the Amalgamated Society of Working Engineers, &c., and to state that, if a coöperative association be formed, I shall be prepared to take some shares in it.

"I am sir, yours obediently,

"W. CONINGHAM."

"To Mr. Allan, Secretary of the Amalgamated Society." Reports were received from various branches, showing the members to be firm to their previous determination to uphold the movement; and the receipt of a large amount of contributions was announced. It was also determined that a public meeting in connection with the movement should next week be convened in the largest available building in the metropolis.

The masters have showed no disposition to repent of the aggressive step taken by them, unless the tone of the appeals and statements of the men, be taken as an indication of a sense of being worsted. The Duke of Newcastle never asserted the claims of feudality more offensively than the masters assert their claims to the exclusive benefit of combination. They have published a "Representation." One passage from it will convey a good impression of the writers.

"All we want is to be let alone. With less than that we shall not be satisfied. Until we accomplish that, we shall not reopen our establishments. With every respect for noble and distinguished referees, whose arbitration has been tendered to us, and with no reason to doubt that their award would be honest, intelligent, and satisfactory, we must take leave to say that we alone are the competent judges of our own business; that we are respectively the masters of our own establishments, and that it is our firm determination to remain so. To this principle we recognise no exceptions. Ours is the responsibility of the details—ours the risk of loss—ours the capital—

its perils, and its engagements. We claim, and are resolved to assert, the right of every British subject to do what we like with our own, and to vindicate the title of our workmen to the same constitutional privilege."

The "constitutional privilege" of working overtime, or doing no work at all!

Some discussion has arisen respecting the distribution of the funds collected by the Amalgamated Society among non-society men and labourers. This is the dangerous point in all strikes. The complaints are met by the council, and will, we hope, be obviated. One of the lesser masters, Mr. Marsden, of Manchester, has conceded to the men and resumed work.

#### ANOTHER STRIKE.

The shipbuilders of Hylton, near Sunderland, have, according to a temperate statement published by the men, been imitating the iron masters, and obliging the men in their employ to strike work. The employers have combined into a Protection Society; and, thus fortified, have made certain demands. The men have printed the demands of the masters with explanatory comments; and as far as we can see, the men make out a good case. But as we have before us only one side, and as we ought to hear the other, perhaps some one will transmit to us the "case" of the employers. Meanwhile, from the printed statement of these men, containing specific demands by the masters, it seems to us that the latter are in the wrong.

#### CENTRAL COÖPERATIVE AGENCY.

We have received the following report for the week ending January 19, from the Central Agency in Charlotte-street:—

"Business transacted with the following stores:—Leeds, Banbury, Camlachie, Garratt-road, Brighton, Woolwich, Halifax, Bradford, Middlesborough, Portsea, Galashiels, Derby, Selkirk, &c. Several applications were received for rules, catalogues, and lists. Two dozen rules for forming Coöperative Stores were supplied to one person. The agency began its regular banking operations on Saturday, January 17. The necessary alterations for the new offices are in course of execution. The agency, at the request of the Amalgamated Iron Trade Society, has opened in its central office a subscription for the Iron Society men and labourers out of work. The following proposals have been forwarded to the above Society:—The agency will give the benefit of wholesale prices to any amount of orders sent through the general office or branches of the Iron Trade Society, for goods sold by the agency, and will invest as a loan, in the capital of the associative workshops to be formed, the difference between the cost and wholesale prices. The agency think that by investing instead of giving up their legitimate profits, they shall place both themselves and the members of the iron trade on a sound footing, since nothing would be more detrimental to coöperative establishments than to be organized, at starting, upon such conditions as they could not carry out in the usual way of business."

Mr. Jones desires us to acknowledge, for the Leeds Redemption Society, the sum of three pounds three shillings and ninepence halfpenny.

#### THE AMAZON.

Nothing material or novel has resulted from the investigation respecting the loss of the Amazon. It is as uncertain now as ever how and even where the fire burst out. One witness first saw it rushing from the store-room, and another declares that it did not originate there. All agree in describing what we have attempted to describe before—the awful splendour and horror of the scene. Angus, the second engineer, gave his evidence in the coolest manner, and seems to have been pretty active on board as long as there was any chance of being useful. He did not leave until all hope vanished. The only novelty is the statement of the Reverend Mr. Blood. This gentleman is described as being old. His statement is contained in a sermon preached at the Church of St. Andrew, Plymouth.

"On the evening of the first day he sat up until between eleven and twelve o'clock, enjoying the sea breeze and the beauty of the scene. When he retired to rest, he undressed himself, and went to bed as though he was in his own house, and slept well. On the next night—and in this he particularly observed the directing hand of God in all things, and, as a proof of the statement made in the Scriptures, that every hair of the head of man was numbered—he did not do so, something seeming to tell that he ought not to go to bed as on the first night. A voice appeared to say to him, 'Go to bed early—do not take off your clothes—not even your boots—do not go between the sheets—lie down on the outside of the bed.' He, therefore, merely took off his cap and coat, and laid down on the outside of the bed. He did not even take off his spectacles, though he had no feeling of danger. When he awoke, it was because he had slept all his sleep—it was not because he heard any alarm—there was no noise, no fire-bell that he could hear, as stated in some of the newspapers. When he awoke, having had his natural sleep, it was about twenty minutes to twelve o'clock, and there was a feeling of vacancy, a want of noise. He opened his cabin window, but all appeared calm and quiet; he could hear nothing, he could see nothing, but a voice seemed to impel him to rise. He therefore got up, and put on his hat and coat; but so little had he an idea of danger, that he left his watch under his pillow. As he was walking along the saloon he thought he heard somebody say the ship was on fire, but all was so calm he could not believe it—but he again heard the words, and



knew that they came from the stewardess. As he advanced along he saw no signs of flames, but he hastened up the stairs on to the deck. He there saw no crowd of people, no person to give an alarm; but he saw amidst the raging of the flames towards Heaven. He then saw that a boat was lowered at the side of the ship, and he got over the bulwarks with a view of letting himself down into it; but in consequence of his broken leg he was careful how to let himself down, intending to swing himself into the boat as it came under him. At that moment the tackle gave way, and the boat was swamped—and he saw those whom it had contained struggling in the water with death. Two or three were still on the upper part of the boat, and he appeared to hear a voice whisper to him, 'Hold on, and all will be right.' Having mounted the vessel, he lowered himself into another boat, about twenty-five feet above the water, so great and lofty was that noble vessel. That boat stuck on the hatches, and they could not get it off; but suddenly the boat was capsized, and how he kept his place in the boat he could not recollect, but he began to imagine the horrors of death by drowning. Suddenly the boat righted, and she was swung, with thirteen people in her, from the ship, but the tackle could not be disengaged from her. A sailor called for a knife to cut the rope—the rope was cut, the ship was gone, and they were left to the buffeting of the waves; and here he felt bound to praise that God who controlled all things, and held the mighty deep in the hollow of His hands, for his preservation. When the boat got clear of the vessel, it was discovered that she had got a large hole in the bottom, and it was feared she must sink. One poor man placed his arm into the hole, and asked for something to plug it with: one gave him his hat, another his drawers, another his stockings and other things; and that the watchful eye of God was still over them, was shown by the fact that two small vessels had been left on board the boat, which served them to bale out the water and keep her from swamping."

A portion of the paddle-box and some of the machinery of a large new steamer have been washed on shore at Bridport, and is supposed to be a part of the ill-fated Amazon. Information has already been forwarded to the Admiralty, and the officers of her Majesty's Customs have taken active measures for securing the portion of the wreck, which is of some value on account of the quantity of copper and brass attached to it.

The sufferers have been generously cared for at Plymouth and Southampton.

#### ADDRESS OF THE POOR-LAW ASSOCIATION TO THE RATEPAYERS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

FELLOW COUNTRYMEN.—At the commencement of another year we are desirous of again calling attention to the principles upon which this Institution has been founded, and to the increasing necessity that exists for their adoption and enforcement by the Legislature.

Our object is—To abate the evils of pauperism, and to reduce poor rates.

Our means are—The substitution of reproductive employment of the poor, either upon the land, or in handicraft labour, instead of the odious and repulsive labour tests and relief system; and thus to render the poor-law establishments nearly or altogether self-supporting.

In a word, the aim we have in view, and which we confidently call upon the country to assist us in achieving is, to benefit the ratepayer by benefiting the poor.

The burden of poor rates has increased in density year after year; and whithersoever we turn we discover no prospect of improvement, save in the adoption of the principles of this Association. The evil is getting worse and worse. At first it was, so to speak, like "a cloud no bigger than a man's hand;" now it is like a flight of locusts, threatening to eat up every green thing. In many districts in Ireland numerous rentals have been entirely swallowed up by the poor rate. Take the following statistics, illustrative of the tremendous increase of this impost in the sister kingdom:—

In 1840 the expenditure for administration of		
Irish poor law, was.....		
1841	Ditto	do. 110,278
1842	Ditto	do. 281,233
1843	Ditto	do. 244,374
1844	Ditto	do. 271,334
1845	Ditto	do. 316,225
1846	Ditto	do. 435,001
1847	Year of famine.	do. 805,684
1848	Ditto	do. 1,826,634
1849	Year of cholera.	do. 2,177,651

The expenditure for the year 1850 fell to £1,430,108, a fact which is no subject for gratulation, as, alas! it is mainly attributable to the frightful diminution of the population, especially by death, as the last Census returns so faithfully testify.

The above figures require no commentary to sustain them. More eloquently than words do they proclaim the utter inadequacy of the law to accomplish the object for which it was avowedly framed. It will be seen that the ruinous exaction was multiplied in the very years when the country was least able to meet it—when lying prostrate under the successive visitations of famine and plague.

But, with two millions sterling per annum wrung from the property and the industrial resources of Ireland, for the poor-law administration, can the Statesman, the Philanthropist, or the Christian, satisfy himself that the poor have been really relieved? May we not quote the words that Fielding applied to the condition of England in his time—"It must be a matter of astonishment to any man to reflect that, in a country where the poor are, beyond all comparison, more liberally provided for than in any other part of the world, there should be more beggars, more miserable distressed objects, than are to be seen throughout all the states of Europe?"

Under the Irish poor-law administration, notwithstanding

standing the enormous supplies levied by it, thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-creatures have notoriously died of starvation. Under that system, notwithstanding that the workhouses are full, the country is ravaged by hordes of mendicants, who, like guerilla bands, prowl from village to village, extorting from the unfortunate taxpayers the remnant that has been left them by the poor-rate collector—for "what the caterpillar has spared, the cankerworm has devoured." Under that system, cargoes of Irish paupers have been thrown upon the coasts of England and Scotland to swell, to an intolerable extent, the ranks of pauperism in London, Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Glasgow, &c., &c. Under that system, humanity has been degraded below the level of the brute creation; and in Irish board-rooms and English vestries the price of sending so many paupers to Liverpool, or despatching them back to their native parishes, has been debated with infinitely greater callousness than would be exhibited in a discussion between a Smithfield grazer and a shipping agent, on the subject of the transmission of so many head of horned cattle.

It is impossible to avoid shuddering at a condition of things of which these features are the indices. The social position of Ireland, under the operation of the poor law—a position which menaces a speedy extinction of an entire people—as it cannot be contemplated without horror, so it cannot be justified by the most subtle sophistry. In that country there are millions of acres of waste lands, which only require the application of labour, that is now waste, to make them yield their increase, and augment the wealth of the State. Shall we not make an effort to remove this anomaly? or, to use the language of a respected member of the Legislature, and of this Association, in his letter to Lord John Russell, in 1847:—"Shall we, my lord, wait for some terrible convulsion, before you appropriate the waste lands of Ireland—the peoples' farms—to the use of the people?"

The social cancer is also steadily eating its way in England, the charge in 1849 being £5,792,963. In 1836, the expenditure for the relief of the poor of Manchester was only £25,000, but it reached £120,000 in 1848. This annual charge has since been reduced, owing simply to the abundant employment of the working classes in this district. Any one who has watched the mutations in the manufacturing districts, within the last half century, will readily decline the task of deciding how long this happy employment of the people, and consequent diminished charge for pauperism, may be expected to last.

In a late return to the board, there is a passage pregnant with importance, as illustrative of the injurious effects upon England of the overflow of Irish pauperism:—"The relief granted during the week ending December 17, 1851, in the township of Manchester, was as follows:—Settled poor, 1951 cases, at a cost of £231. 5s. 5d.; Irish, 1780 cases, at a cost of £221. 10s. 9d.; English non-settled, 876 cases, at a cost of £108. 17s. 2d. Compared with the corresponding week of the previous year, there was an increase of 188 English cases, and £4. 3s. 6d. in the cost; and an increase of Irish cases, and £36. 2s. 6d. in the cost."

This tax upon the industry and property of the country is becoming too heavy to be borne longer, without an effort to throw it off or mitigate it. So wretched, indeed, is the method of disposing of the impost, that it is a question whether the poor or the rich are actually more dissatisfied, or have greater reason to be so, since the plunder of the one serves so little to the real advantage of the other. And if this evil be not corrected in a time of almost profound peace and comparative prosperity, how will it be endured in a season of commercial or manufacturing distress, when thousands of hands will be thrown of employment, to add to the number of recipients of relief—how tolerated in a currency crisis—or how will the Chancellor of the Exchequer find dividends in any future war, to pay the interest of an increasing debt?—all possible contingencies, which it becomes the statesman seriously to contemplate and provide against.

The remedy which we suggest for this crying evil—the instruction and employment of the poor in works of a remunerative character—is not a new panacea. It has had the sanction of some of the most illustrious names in English history and literature; and it has had the imprimatur of success, wherever it has been judiciously applied.

The celebrated statute, the 43rd of Elizabeth—the maladministration, not the principle, of which demanded a change—was drawn up by the great Lord Bacon, and "gave power to raise by assessment, to purchase a stock of wool, hemp, flax, &c., for the employment of the poor."

Lord Hale prepared a scheme, well worthy of his highly-gifted intellect, for the employment of the poor in workhouses, which would have been a great improvement upon the 43rd of Elizabeth, inasmuch as it rendered it compulsory upon the justices of the peace to procure stock for the poor, when the overseers neglected this duty. One of the suggestions of Lord Hale demonstrates that the sale, outside, of the goods manufactured in the workhouse, was a part of his plan:—"That there be yearly chosen by the said justices, a master for each workhouse, with a convenient salary, out of the said stock, or the produce thereof, to continue for three years." It is deeply to be lamented that Lord Hale, who looked forward to the accomplishment of his scheme for the improvement of the condition of the poor as the crowning act of his public life—as a work of great humanity, "worthy of a Christian and an Englishman"—was removed by death before he had time to press it upon the attention of the Legislature.

Sir Joshua Child, who wrote elaborately on the subject, gave the following as the result of his reflections:—"It is no matter whether the manufacture in the workhouse turns to present profit or not, the great business of the nation being—first, to keep the poor from begging, and starving, and inuring such as are able to labour and

discipline, that they may be hereafter useful members of the kingdom."

In 1697, Mr. Locke suggested that, "houses of industry were the means to increase the quantity of labour throughout the kingdom, and decrease the expense of maintaining the poor."

Against these opinions, emanating from the "master spirits of the age" in which they lived—against the light of reason, the testimony of experience, and the dictates of humanity—the disciples of a false version of political economy present us with certain fallacies, which, although they have been often refuted before, it may be necessary here again to notice.

First, it is urged that the substitution of employments of a healthful and remunerative character for compulsory idleness or cruel and repulsive task work, such as picking oakum, &c., would interfere with the means of testing cases of real destitution.

In answer to this objection, we submit, that the test system itself is unjust, and the sooner its doom is sealed the better. The right of the poor to relief on the soil that gave them birth is as sacred, as ancient, as fully recognized by statute and by judicial authorities, since the days of Richard II. downwards, as any right to property, title, or prerogative, possessed by the highest in the land. This being the case, is it just to clog their acceptance of relief with conditions so revolting that, in thousands of cases, it is notorious they endure the utmost extremity of suffering rather than apply for assistance? The pauper, living in a highly artificial state of society, finds himself reduced, by circumstances over which, perhaps, he has had no control, to indigence; and unable longer to support himself, his wife, and children, without extraneous aid, he presents himself to the guardians of the poor, and in obedience to the primeval mandate from on high—"In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread until thou return to the ground"—he

"Humbly asks his fellow-worm  
To give him leave to toil."

He does not demand subsistence for nothing. The only capital he has in the world is the labour of his hands, and that he is willing to give in return for the assistance advanced to him. He desires "to take his portion, and rejoice in his labour, for this is the gift of God." But he is stopped at the threshold by the stipulation which is imposed upon him, viz., that, if he enter the workhouse, he must be content to languish in total idleness, or go through a certain amount of task work, which, while it thoroughly disgusts him, neither is, nor is intended to be, of any benefit to the public. It is hard to say whether the injustice of this system to the poor, or the absurdity of advocating it for the benefit of the ratepayers, is more transparent. In the case of youthful paupers, the weight of our argument is greatly enhanced.

"Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined."

Under the plan we recommend, industry would keep the rising generation from mischief, and fashion the future man for a life of honesty and self-dependence.

Another objection presented by pseudo-political economists to the carrying on of reproductive labour by guardians is, that it interferes with independent industry. At a cursory glance, this objection may appear to possess some force; but a closer observation will discover that it is wholly untenable. Expounders of political economy should be the last persons to advance this objection, for that science teaches us, "That the wealth and prosperity of a kingdom increase in a ratio with the aggregate of the money earned by the labour and employment of its inhabitants;" and "that production generates demand;" and the highest authority that could be appealed to assures us "that idleness is the root of all evil." It is asserted that the application of the labour of the inmates of poorhouses to works of a remunerative nature is an injustice to the workmen who are supporting themselves without parochial relief; and that it is better for the latter that the former should be supported in total idleness. This proposition is as rational as if we said that in a family of six persons three should insist upon doing all the work, and complain that they were about to be plundered, if the remaining three contributed aught towards the common stock! Three should "eat the bread of idleness," in order that the labour of the other three should not be interfered with! The proposition is as sensible as if we said that one half of the factory labourers in Manchester should be drafted to the poorhouse, there to receive relief at the cost of the remaining sons and daughters of industry. What should we think of the sanity of a man who, about to walk a considerable distance, insisted that he would advance with greater ease and speed if permitted to carry a neighbour on his back? Beyond all doubt, if the suffrages of the workmen of this country were taken upon the subject, all of them, who are not blinded by ignorance and prejudice, would unhesitatingly concede to the indigent unemployed the privilege of contributing to their own support by the labour of their hands, and to the consequent reduction of the burden of poor rates, which presses so severely upon all classes, from the landed proprietor and capitalist to the hard-working mechanic.

Will the opponents of the self-supporting system display the temerity of asserting, that the present administration of the poor law has not most seriously affected independent industry in Ireland, by swamping the rents of the landlords, driving the farmers out of the country by hundreds of thousands, and pressing so heavily upon the trading classes in the towns as to compel thousands of once comfortable ratepayers to become recipients of in-door relief? Has it not seriously interfered with the labour markets of England and Scotland, by subjecting the workmen in these countries to an injurious competition with Irish immigrants, who, on the principles we are advocating, might be employed at home to their own benefit and that of society? Has the interdiction of reproductive employment not perniciously affected all classes in England, by swelling the rates to such an extent that, in numerous rural districts, when

coupled with county rates and other taxes, they have amounted almost to a disinherison, and have proved so ruinous an exaction in many of the seats of manufacture as to cripple that very independent industry in behalf of which our opponents profess so much anxiety?

Those who alarm themselves by conjuring up a host of evils as certain to spring from the adoption of remunerative industry by the unemployed poor, the use in the houses of the products manufactured, or the sale of them outside, not under market price, appear to overlook the fact that the principle has been long in operation in different institutions in these countries, without, as far as we are aware, any complaint of its evil results. In many unions, both in England and Ireland, the system has been partially introduced, in spite of the obstinate hostility offered to it by the authorities entrusted with the administration of the statute; and in every case where an enlightened and painstaking management has been evinced, the effects have been most gratifying, not only in the reduction of the rates, but in the amelioration of the condition of the poor, by restoring them to society with the means of supporting themselves, instead of being, as formerly, burdens upon it. Putting aside altogether the pecuniary benefit to the community, no one who has travelled in Ireland can have failed to be forcibly struck with the contrast presented between the discipline, cleanliness, and health, preserved in houses where the self-supporting system has been introduced, and the disease, filth, and general degradation, which are certain to shock the spectator who visits the institutions abandoned to the cruel mandate of enforced idleness, and which might have appropriately engraved upon their portals, the dismal motto—

"Let all who enter here leave hope behind."

In our gaols, bridewells, and penitentiaries, the prisoners are buckled to productive employment, and the articles manufactured are either used by the inmates, or sold for the purpose of reducing the county rate. Then we have numerous benevolent associations, founded and maintained for the purpose of instructing and rewarding the destitute—"the lame, the halt, and the blind"—whose products, whether basketwork or needlework, are sold to diminish the expense of supporting them. Who would have the hardihood to plead for the extinction of these institutions by referring to the bugbear that they interfere with independent labour? Agricultural societies, organized to disseminate instruction and to distribute seed, gratuitously, to struggling cultivators of the soil, are clearly illegitimate, if the reproductive employment of the poor by a board of guardians be so, as they may be said to interfere with the independent farmer, who pays for his own seed and instruction. Because some persons pin their faith to an angular and wire-drawn version of political economy, are we to condemn the admirable allotment system established by Lord Dartmouth, in the progress of which hundreds of acres, heretofore neglected, have been rendered productive, and thousands of persons saved from indigence? Again, the establishment of National Schools by the State, and the foundation of Schools by the Church of England, and other religious denominations and general associations, may be said to have interfered with independent labour, as they have effectually extinguished the ancient race of village schoolmasters and school dames; yet no one who reflects upon the strides which popular education has made under the auspices of these institutions, calls out for their annihilation, upon the grounds advanced against the reproductive employment of the destitute.

We are justified, therefore, in summing up our views as follow:—

1. The existing administration of the poor law has been fraught with disaster to all classes in England and Ireland, by sinking the poor still lower in the scale of humanity, and augmenting the burden of the poor rates.

2. A change is absolutely necessary.

3. The employment of the poor in works of a productive character has been advocated by the first statesmen and public writers who have adorned the annals of this country; and the soundness of the principle and its advantages both to the poor and the ratepayer have been demonstrated in numerous workhouses and other public institutions.

4. All objections to the reproductive and self-supporting system, on the score of its interference with the "testing" of destitution, or with independent labour, outside of the workhouse, are fallacious.

To impress these truths upon the public, the Legislature, and the Government, is the task which the Poor Law Association has undertaken. We appeal for aid in this work—

To the Christian, who sees the principles of his Master, who was emphatically the friend and advocate of the poor, practically ignored under the present system of idleness, misery, and immorality:—

To the Philanthropist, who cannot contemplate without anguish the spectacle of his fellow creatures immured within the four walls of a poorhouse, and there doomed to rot and languish, a burden to themselves and society:—

To the Statesman, who, if he were wise, would seize the present period of tranquillity and prosperity to grapple with this monster evil:—

To the Manufacturer and Merchant, who cannot fail to attribute the greatness of this empire, and their success and position in it, to the development of human skill and industry:—

To the Landed Proprietor—whose broad acres are threatened with virtual confiscation:—

To the Farmer—the Trader—the Shopkeeper—(in a word) to the Ratepayer—who finds himself doubly mulcted, first for the relief of the poor in the wretched and unnatural style we have described; and, secondly, for the support, in our gaols, convict ships, and penal settlements, of the criminals engendered by an absurd and degrading system.

We believe that the suggestion we present to our

countrymen afford the true solution of the difficulty—an unfailing remedy for the evil—and that their general approval and adoption will realize the prediction of Viscount St. Albans, who, nearly 300 years ago, when vindicating them, said—

"Thus the poor will find provision, and other people the sweetness of the abatement of the tax. The youth and the adult will be instructed in habits of industry, so that while under the protection of a beneficent statute, they will, more or less help towards their own sustenance, and when they choose to withdraw from its protection they can start into new life as useful, loyal, and independent members, of the great human family."

Those who have already concurred in the objects of the Association are earnestly invited to promote them, not only in their respective localities, but by forwarding its "Addresses" and other publications to their friends at a distance. In every town and union it behoves them to confer with those who hold similar views, and concert measures for the practical enforcement of them; to convene public meetings (the clergyman or chief magistrate of the place being invited to preside); to pass resolutions, and, if thought expedient, petition the Legislature in favour of productive employment; and endeavour to prevail upon the guardians themselves to introduce such employment as early as practicable.

Among the means which the committee purpose adopting to carry out the objects of the Association are:—

1. Lectures, by a number of gentlemen, upon the moral and economical evils of pauperism under the present system; upon spade husbandry, drainage, the cultivation of flax, &c., and the various kinds of useful labour capable of being introduced in different unions. The first lecture has been delivered by the Reverend Hugh Stowell, Honorary Canon of Chester and Manchester.

2. The circulation of tracts, and

3. The publication of a periodical, the *Poor Law Circular*, to advocate the principles of the Association, and disseminate practical information respecting the beneficial adoption in different places of in and outdoor employment for the destitute.

Several hundred gentlemen of position and influence in different parts of the three kingdoms are members of the general committee, but it is deemed sufficient here to repeat the names of the Vice-Presidents:—

The Lord Bishop of Ripon.

Sir John Stewart Forbes, Baronet.

Sir Thomas Tancred, Baronet.

Sir E. Armitage.

Sir A. Clarke, M.D., F.R.C.S.E.

F. French, Esq., M.P.

James Kersnow, Esq., M.P.

Geoffrey Martin, Esq., Chairman of Guardians, Bal-

linrobe.

R. Musgrave, Esq., ditto, Lismore.

Thomas Carlyle, Esq.

Reverend R. C. Clifton, Canon of Manchester.

S. D. Darbishire, Esq.

Reverend R. Durnford, M.A.

William Ewart, Esq., M.P.

William Fairbairn, Esq.

Reverend William Harness.

James Heywood, Esq., M.P., F.R.S.

Reverend W. F. Hook, D.D.

Leonard Horner, Esq.

John Owens, Esq., High Sheriff of Antrim.

Reverend Canon Parkinson, D.D., Principal of St.

Bees.

G. Poulett Scrope, Esq., M.P.

Reverend J. Sherman.

Reverend Canon Stowell.

W. Watson, Esq., Sheriff of Aberdeen.

W. Woolryche Whitmore, Esq.

T. R. Wilson, Esq.

The Honourable and Reverend Grantham Yorke.

Henry Thomas Hope, Esq., M.P.

Colonel T. F. Burke, Chairman of Cork Union.

Subscriptions in aid of the funds of the Association are requested to be sent to Thomas Greig, Esq., Treasurer, Cornbrook park, Manchester; to the Secretaries, T. Wheeler, Esq., S.C.L., St. John's College, Cambridge, Temple, London; J. Toulmin Smith, Esq., Highgate, London; T. H. Battye, Esq., Huddersfield; James Winder, Esq., Bolton; and to T. Worthington Barlow, Esq., and Archibald G. Stark, Esq., at the head office of the Association, 9, St. James's-square, Manchester, from whom can be obtained all the Addresses, &c., issued by the Association. Subscribers will be enrolled as Members on the payment of 10s. and upwards, and be entitled to receive, free, all the publications issued by the Association, including the *Poor Law Circular*. Smaller donations will be acknowledged by a copy of the *Circular*.

Signed, by order of the committee,

T. WORTHINGTON BARLOW, } Secretaries.

ARCHIBALD G. STARK, }

9, St. James's-square, Manchester, January, 1852.

#### THE STEEL AND THE CORD.

A touching story is told by a correspondent of the *Journal of Commerce*, as the climax to several shocking cases of Lynching in California. The scene of the tragedy was at Downieville, far up in the mountains of Yuba county. The victim was a young girl.

"She was a Mexican senorita, with all the passions and frailties which attach themselves to the race. One day she stabbed a man, so that he died in a short time. Public opinion varies as to the enormity of this crime. Some assert that it was a wanton and treacherous attack; others consider it to have been an ordinary murder, under circumstances of insufficient but considerable provocation; while many affirm that the blow was struck in defence of her person against a drunken assault. The better opinion is, as far as I can learn, that the killing

was unlawful, but under palliating circumstances. It is of little consequence to my present purpose to examine into the degree of crime. I am merely to relate how a woman was punished by unlawful hands in this high noon of the nineteenth century.

"It seems that an example was needed in Downieville. Little or no retribution had fallen upon former murderers in that vicinity, and it unfortunately happened that the dead man had many friends in the city, while the girl elicited no sympathy. Her nation was despised, and she was of a character which always draws more companions than friends in California. The many-headed monster cried, 'Blood for blood.'

"The Mountain City is situated at the confluence of two branches of the North Yuba, and is connected with the opposite bank by a long bridge. The cord was thrown over a crossbeam in the middle of the bridge, and thither the multitude hurried their frail victim. Her bearing was haughty and composed in the highest degree. She was a beautiful girl, but neither her beauty nor unusual roundness of form excited the slightest compassion in the majority.

"At this point of the proceeding a young lawyer mounted the bridge railing, and denounced the whole affair in words of more bitter justice than discretion. He was not suffered to speak long; a dozen hands pulled him down, and as many feet were vigorously applied to him along the whole length of the bridge. When upon the opposite bank he was forbidden to enter Downieville again, under penalty of being tarred and feathered.

"Even the perpetrators of this outrage should have been shamed into common humanity by the next appeal. A physician, well known in the place, stated, upon his professional reputation and most sacred honour, that the girl was enceinte, and demanded for her the reprieve which was always granted by the merciful common law of England, even in the darkest ages, and most barbarous periods. But no! Mercy to a murderess! Time to give birth to another of the viper's blood! They hooted at the idea. The physician was ordered to leave town within three days, for having dared to disturb the majesty of the people, arisen to assert justice.

"Meanwhile the girl had been looking on with the utmost nonchalance. At the failure of this last appeal a scornful smile distorted her lip, and she at once began to perform the last offices for herself. The manta was removed from her head and given to her paramour, with a watch, purse, and ornaments. Her black hair fell in masses over her shoulders, but she calmly grasped the noose, dangling near by, and, passing it round her neck, concealed the hideous knot beneath the thick fall of her hair. She made but one request—that her hands might be left untied and free to give the signal. Strange to say, they did grant her one privilege, but one which, in cases where the nerves were not made of steel, would have been the most injudicious of all.

"She then drew a bunch of cigarettes from her bosom and distributed them among the bystanders, reserving one for herself. This she lighted and half-smoked, then drew it from her lips with—"I would do it again, the maldito!" She did not finish the sentence, but dropped the cigar. This was the signal; and her light form shot rapidly up in the air, hardly struggling, so powerful was the will that kept her feeble arms stiffly pressed against her sides. There she hung, over that foaming river—between sky and earth—the mark of deepest disgrace upon all our fair land."

#### FOREIGN POLICE IN ENGLAND.

Who is our Governor, Louis Napoleon or Queen Victoria? We are in doubt. The *Hants Independent* states, on "unquestionable authority," the following shameful fact:—

"An Inspector of Customs was down here on Friday, and rigidly searched the captain and crew of the Grand Turk steamer from Havre, for the purpose of endeavouring to find some private correspondence expected from Paris!! but nothing was found. He also endeavoured to stop the mail bag, but the man refused to allow him to do so till he had placed the mails in the hands of the Post-office authorities, and consequently the inspector accompanied him to the Post-office."

Will Englishmen consent to endure tamely insults and outrages like these? We are crying out loudly for a national armament to protect our land against a possible invasion, and we sit quietly under a real invasion—an invasion of the basest kind. Is this the rule of Granville?

#### QUITE GUILTY.

A Chinaman, with a long tail, called Achilles, the carpenter of the American ship Hannah Crooker, from Calcutta, now lying in St. Katherine Dock, was brought before Mr. Yardley, charged, on a Custom-house information, with smuggling twenty-one pounds of Manila cheroots, by which he had incurred a penalty of £100. Mr. Symonds, the chief clerk, read the information, and the steward of the Hannah Crooker, who acted as interpreter, was directed to translate it to him. He whispered some gibberish to Achilles, and Mr. Yardley requested him to speak aloud.

The Interpreter: You won't understand it.

Mr. Yardley: No; I am not acquainted with the language of the Celestial Empire; but whatever it is, let us all hear it.

The interpreter said he had been speaking in broken English to Achilles.

Mr. Yardley: What! have you come here to be an interpreter of broken English?

The interpreter: Why, if I speak to him in full plain English, such as the English and Americans speak, he would not be able to understand it, sir. He understands my broken English.

Mr. Yardley: This is the commencement of a composite language, I suppose.



Henry Harmer, a tidewater, who seized the cheroots, said Achilles understood English very well indeed.

Mr. Cumberland, clerk to the solicitors, said the cheroots were found in the berth of Achilles, concealed in his pillow and mattress.

Achilles at length found his tongue, and in broken English admitted that he was carpenter of the American ship, and that the cigars belonged to him. He intended them for his own use. He was quite guilty.

Mr. Yardley sentenced the prisoner to pay a fine of £100 to the Queen, and to be imprisoned for six months in default of payment.

Mr. Cumberland: Of course all the circumstances will be reported to the Board of Customs.

Mr. Yardley (to the interpreter): Convey to him this consolation, that if he petition the Board of Customs he will get off for considerably less than £100.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Westminster Review has been excluded from the Select Subscription Library of Edinburgh on the special ground of its "heresy!"

The Observer states that the Earl of Albemarle will move the Address in the House of Lords, in answer to the Speech from the Throne.

According to the Globe, Mr. Fortescue, of Ravensdalepark, is to be created an Irish Peer, by the title of Lord Clermont.

Mr. Thomas Gisborne, formerly representative for Nottingham, believing that "a dissolution is close at hand," has issued an address to the electors of that city.

Professor Owen has received permission from the Queen to reside in one of the houses on Kew-green which belonged to the late King of Hanover.

The Duchess of Kent has given a donation of £50, and the Duke of Wellington the sum of £100, towards the funds to relieve the widows and orphans left destitute by the burning of the Amazon.

In the last sitting of the Roman Archaeological Society, the Secretary read a letter from the King of Prussia, announcing his acceptance of the title of honorary member of the society in the class of Sovereigns. A very proper society for the King of Prussia to belong to.

The Earl of Hardwicke intends to bring before the House of Lords, very early in the session, all the facts he can collect respecting the incendiary fires that have occurred in the agricultural districts. He is appealing to all the parishes in Cambridgeshire to collect evidence and furnish him with it before the 1st of February.

General Caulfield, according to the Medical Times, has offered to Sir Benjamin Brodie an appointment in the medical department of the East India Company's service, for one of the students of St. George's Hospital; and Sir B. Brodie at once placed it at the disposition of the weekly board.

The new arrangements at the Mint, occasioned by the recent changes in the constitution of the establishment and the death of Mr. Wyon, have just been completed by Sir John Herschel, and sanctioned by the Lords of the Treasury. Mr. Pistrucci is to have £400 a-year, and Mr. Leonard Wyon (son of the late chief engraver) £300 a-year. Mr. Pistrucci and Mr. Wyon are to be called "Modellers and Engravers to her Majesty's Mint." The two modellers are not to have residences within the Mint, but are to have additional pay for any work they may execute at the request of the Master.—Standard.

A gentleman got into an omnibus one day this week, and the first object which presented itself was M. Thiers. Presently the omnibus stopped, and who should enter but the late potential King of Rome. The two gentlemen instantly recognised each other, and entered at once into conversation, the Railway Mania talking largely to the Consul and the Empire. His royal highness of Albert Gate halted at Spring-gardens, the ex-chief of the Party of Order affectionately exclaiming, "Prenez garde, mon cher; prenez garde, en descendant!" and instantly taking great pinches of snuff. The omnibus stood still at Charing-cross—M. Thiers alighted, walked leisurely up the Strand, stopped at the corner of Northumberland-street, and then dived into that region. Who lives there? The Duke d'Aumale.

The inhabitants of Lambeth met at the Horns Tavern, on Thursday, for the purpose of denouncing the Grey D'Urban system at the Cape, and applauding that of Lord Glenelg. Mr. William Williams, M.P., presided, and it was laid down that renunciation of the lands we have unjustly taken from the Kafirs is the only possible basis of peace.

It is now reported that Lord Palmerston will be invited to stand for Liverpool. The Liberals say that although his lordship is opposed to a duty on corn for the express purpose of raising rents, he is in favour of a revenue duty of 5s. per quarter, or 2s. 6d. per cwt. on foreign flour, in lieu of the income tax on trades and professions. Another report brings Lord Sandon forward for Liverpool. Lord John Manners has declined the invitation of the influential Tory party of Liverpool to come forward, being pledged to his constituents at Colchester. Mr. T. B. Horsfall, the eminent merchant of Liverpool, has consented to stand for Derby at the next election.—Standard. [Lord Palmerston may have received a private invitation to stand for Liverpool, but there has been no public movement in his favour either by way of requisition or address. The noble lord was brought forward as a candidate for Liverpool at the general election in 1841, but without his consent, and in his absence, when he polled about 4000 votes, but was defeated by the present Earl of Harrowby, then Lord Sandon, and Mr. Justice Creswell, then leader of the northern circuit.—Chronicle.]

Mr. George Herbert Rodwell, the composer, died on Thursday morning, at his house in Ebury-place, Fimlico.

Mr. T. Hudson Turner, one of the ablest of British archaeologists, and a contributor to the Athenæum, died of consumption on the 14th instant, at the age of thirty-seven.

Admiral George M'Kinley died very suddenly on Sunday morning, at his residence, Anglesea, Gosport, aged eighty-five.

A "safety-boat sling" has been invented by Mr. Landella. It consists of one tackle.

A school "for the education of the sons of the middle classes in the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England," is about to be opened under the superintendence of the Archdeacon of Taunton.

Several meetings have been held this week by the party opposed to the Maynooth grant.

Mr. Hugh Fleming, the Secretary of the Manchester Commercial Association, stated that the East India Company had directed their agent at Liverpool to forward to him, for sale in Manchester, 781 bales and 38 half-bales of cotton, brought from Bombay by the ship David Clarke.

The number of trees of liberty already cut down in Paris and the banlieue is about 1200. The most remarkable was one which was planted by Louis Blanc opposite the clock in the garden of the Luxembourg. The number of the inscriptions "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," on public buildings, which have been removed, is about 1000.—Galignani.

A meeting of the inhabitants of the parishes of St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, and St. George's, Bloomsbury, was held at the Music Hall, in Store-street, on Tuesday, to take into consideration the best course to be adopted with the view of carrying out the principle of local self-government with respect to extramural interments. Mr. Rogers, Q.C., occupied the chair. It was resolved that intramural interment was unhealthy, and that the extortionate demands of incumbents for burial fees, or compensation for the same, should be opposed; and that the plan of the Necropolis Company, as explained by Mr. Voules, deserved the support of all the metropolitan parishes.

The present number of paupers in the Holborn union is 648; the number for the corresponding period last year was 683. During the last week, 1176 poor received out-door relief, being 525 less than for the corresponding week of 1851.

On Saturday 400 notices were given in the Queen's Bench of intended applications to be admitted attorneys of that Court: 170 will come up for examination this and the remainder in the ensuing Easter Term. Law is looking up, spite of the County Courts.

Berger of Holywell-street has just published a cheap and authentic view (on steel) of the building for the Great Exhibition at New York, engraved by authority from the design of Sir Joseph Paxton, with a full description of the building.

A story of "moral lynching" is told by a New Albany newspaper. An unfortunate girl was seduced by a young man, and left in that state at a boarding-house. The inmates sympathised with her, and on the young man calling upon her, said inmates locked him in a room, sent for the minister and his clerk, had a certificate ready, and married the couple there and then.

It is said that the captain of a Boston vessel has picked up a cedar keg on the African coast, opposite Gibraltar, which on being opened was found to contain a cocoa nut. Within this cocoa nut was a manuscript in Gothic characters, giving an account of the discovery of Cathay by Christopher Columbus, and addressed to Ferdinand and Isabella, of Castile and Aragon, saying the ships could not survive the tempest another day; that they then were between the Western Isles and Spain; that two like narratives were written and thrown into the sea, in case the caravel should go to the bottom, that some mariner would pick up one or the other of them. The strange document was signed by Christopher Columbus in a bold and dashing hand. It also bore the date of 1493, and consequently had been floating over the Atlantic 358 years. This is a Munchausen!

The Legislature of Alabama have determined to adopt a new coat of arms. The following is the design which it is proposed to adopt:—A shield quartered in the centre, on a shield, "a waterfall" in proper colours. In the dexter chief a "branch of cotton," in proper colours, on a gold field. In the sinister chief, "emblems of machinery, machinery, and manufactures," in gold, on a red field. In the dexter base, "emblems of commerce," in gold, on a blue ground. In the sinister base, an "ear of corn in the husk," in gold, on a green ground. These represent the resources of the State, its water power, its agricultural importance—represented by its two great staples, cotton and corn—its commercial facilities, and its capabilities in a mechanical and manufacturing point of view. That which is wanting is supplied by the crest, which denotes wisdom and strength; a "mailed arm, holding a sword barwise," the emblems of strength and power, encircled by a "serpent," the emblem of wisdom and prudence. The whole "arms" suggest the motto, "These make us great."

On Monday the 16th instant, the General Screw Steam Shipping Company's steam-packet Proponis, Captain Glover, sailed for St. Vincent, Sierra Leone and the Cape of Good Hope. She takes passengers for Sierra Leone the newly appointed commandant, Major O'Conner, Lieutenants Robinson and Rainsforth, Ensign Minty, Mr. Ritchie, and Mr. Lewis; for the Cape: Mr. and Mrs. Jerrom, Mr. and Mrs. Holding, Mr. Allen, Mr. Nisbett, Mr. Maurice, Mrs. Coleman and family, Mr. A. Miller, and Mr. Smart. She took mails for St. Vincent, Sierra Leone, the African fleet, the Cape, and Port Natal. These mails weighed two tons, and it was computed that for the Cape alone there were 8000 letters and newspapers. Commander Von Donop has charge. The Proponis has a full cargo, and was obliged to refuse goods here. She takes a large quantity of British manufactured goods, plate, &c., with ordnance stores and despatches for the troops, officers, &c.; but the most interesting part of her freight consists of a venture of 450 patent revolving pistols, brought down by Mr. Dennett, agent for Colonel Colt, and sent to the Cape in charge of Mr. Peard, who

understands thoroughly the manufacture, construction, management, and use of these formidable weapons. They are exported, under the full cognizance of the Government, for sale, at a limited price, to British officers. These pistols, for cavalry, weigh from 3lb. to 3½lb., killing at 300 yards, and belt or navy pistols, weighing less than 2½lb., carry a ball through a 2-inch plank at 100 yards; they hold six balls, and are said to require less powder than the ordinary pistol. Colonel Colt has thus done that which some may consider is the duty of the Government; the enterprise of an American in the service of England is highly creditable to our Transatlantic brethren.

Where are the police?—a very fitting question. At all events they are not in Newington-causeway, as the following story will show. At a very early hour on Friday morning last, a robbery took place in St. Andrew's-road, Newington-causeway, most extraordinary in its extent and success. Some thieves effected an entrance into two empty houses, Nos. 13 and 21, and from thence walked each way amongst those which were inhabited, until they had succeeded in tearing from their settings and carrying away the coppers from no less than ten adjoining houses. The thieves also abstracted several live ducks from the yards, a quantity of bacon, as well as dressed and undressed food from the larders, and other articles; with the whole of which they got clear off. To effect these robberies must have occupied at least two hours (and it may be observed that several other attempts had been made), while the weight of the coppers alone was not less than three or four hundredweights, which it must have required a horse and cart to remove, and this must have been kept waiting close on the spot for a considerable time, at a most unseasonable hour of the night, without being noticed by any of the police. The other night, in one of our western aristocratic suburbs, into which a few houses for poor Irish have been thrust, we heard a furious uproar, and saw two men rolling on the ground, while the surrounding mob of women and boys were diligently screaming and swearing. We ran for the police for a mile and back, and not one was to be found. This was on the high road between Kensington and Hammersmith. These are not isolated cases. An immense quantity of shoes and leather was stolen from Great Portland-street on Saturday; the entire stock of a cheesemonger at Hackney carried off in a most surprising and invisible fashion; and a policeman at Newington seen stealing rabbit pie from a safe in an area!

Two fires occurred on Sunday: one at Woolwich, and the other in Soho. Considerable damage was done.

A ship was burnt in Yarmouth-roads on Sunday. The coast guardsmen saved the crew.

The sentence on Sarah Ann Hills, convicted of the murder of her newly-born infant, at Wakefield, who was respited for a week, has been commuted to transportation for life.

One of the engineers dismissed by Maudslays and Field, when they struck and turned off all their men, drowned himself on Sunday in the Thames.

A man cut his throat in an unused omnibus last week, and it is said laid there for forty hours, being yet found alive.

The young man suspected of having murdered his uncle, Mr. Kalcberg, near Banbury, has been fully committed to take his trial for wilful murder.

#### BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

##### BIRTHS.

On the 12th of January, at Wimpole Rectory, Flora, the wife of the Honourable and Reverend Henry Reginald Yorke: a son.

On the 12th, in Lowndes-squares, the wife of Peter Fitzgerald, Knight of Kerry: a son.

On the 13th, at Bodmin, the lady of Sir Colman Rashleigh, Baronet: twins—a son and daughter.

On the 15th, at Southsea, the Honourable Mrs. Frederick Pelham: a son.

##### MARRIAGES.

On the 11th of October, at Calcutta, at St. John's Cathedral, Charles Wheeler Sankey, Esq., of Rungpoor, East Indies, to Sarah Harvey, niece of W. Amos, Esq., late of Notting-hill.

On the 13th of January, R. Ainslie, Esq., to Sophia Mary, youngest daughter of Thomas La Cote, Esq., of the Abbey-mill, Surrey.

On the 15th, at Battersea Church, Lieutenant-General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., to Henrietta, the elder daughter of the late George Hyde Wollaston, Esq., of Clapham-common.

On the 15th, Gordon Forlong, Esq., of Mount Erin, Lochfyne, to Laura Isabella, daughter of William Jekyll Anstey, Esq., of Brompton-crescent, London, formerly Deputy Postmaster-General of Jamaica.

##### DEATHS.

In his 39th year, Roderick Mitchell, second son of Sir T. L. Mitchell, Surveyor-General, New South Wales. He was on his passage to Sydney, when a sudden lurch of the small vessel in which he was embarked threw him overboard, a heavy sea rendering any effort to save him impracticable. He had been selected to command a party destined to pursue the track of Leichhardt, and, if possible, ascertain his fate, the Legislative Council having appropriated £2000 for that purpose. Eight brothers and sisters had been assembled under the paternal roof to embrace him on his departure for this perilous service. Alas! it was to participate and mitigate parental agony.

On the 12th of January, at Wimpole Rectory, Flora, the wife of the Honourable and Reverend Henry Reginald Yorke.

On the 14th, at her residence, in Bath, Maria, Dowager Viscountess Middleton, aged seventy-nine.

On the 15th, Mary Ann, the wife of Mr. William Bartropp, High Holborn, in the thirty-eighth year of her age, of consumption.

On the 16th, at the Hill-house, Stroud, Sir John Dean Paul, Baronet, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

On the 17th, at New Bond-street, Mr. John Rodwell, bookseller, in his seventy-second year.

On the 17th, at Farnham, Sir William Oglender, Baronet, in the eighty-third year of his age.

On the 18th, at his residence, Hackney, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, Captain Wrench, late of the Forty-fourth Regiment. He was nearly related to the late General Tryon, and his death will be regretted by a numerous circle of acquaintance.

On the 19th, at Birmingham, in his thirtieth year, William Essex, jun., artist, only surviving son of W. Essex, Esq., enamel painter to her Majesty.

## TO CORRESPONDENTS.

We have received the letter of the Reverend John Jessopp, respecting sermons on "Woman," too late for publication in our present number; but we will not delay, even for a few days, to declare that it places the matter in a totally different light.

The new arrangements alluded to last week in the management of the *Leader* had especial reference to the commercial department; and it is believed that irregularities, of which Subscribers and Agents have had cause to complain, will henceforth cease. We entreat that any such instances, recurring to either Subscribers or Agents, may be immediately communicated to the Editor, by letter, addressed to 10, Wellington-street, Strand.

## Postscript.

SATURDAY, January 24.

M. de Morny is no longer Minister of the Interior. There were, it appears, a set of new decrees to be countersigned; De Morny recoiled, Fould and Rouher supported him; all resigned. In the *Moniteur* of yesterday, which announces the resignation of these Ministers, and the appointment of Persigny, as Minister of the Interior, Bineau as Minister of Finance, and Abbateucci as Minister of Justice, De Maupas as Minister of Police, appear the decrees which even the unscrupulous De Morny declined to countersign. These decrees, signed by Casabianca, elevated for the occasion to a new Ministry—the Ministry of State—are, first, one which enacts that the members of the Orleans family, their husbands and consorts, and descendants, cannot possess any property (moveable or immovable) in France. They are bound to sell them within the year, and in default they will be sold by the State. A second decree cancels the donation made by Louis Philippe on the 7th of August, 1830, to his children, and enacts that their properties, of about two hundred millions of francs, shall be employed as follows:—Ten millions to societies of secours mutuels. Ten millions to the improvement of the lodgings for the working classes. Ten millions to the establishment of a credit foncier. Five millions to a benefit fund for the poorer clergy. All the officers, sub-officers, and soldiers in active service, will receive, according to their rank in the Legion of Honour: the Legionary, 250 francs; the officers, 500 francs; Commanders, 1000 francs; Grand Officers, 2000 francs; Grand Crosses, 3000 francs. A national palace will serve for an establishment for the education of orphans and families whose heads have obtained a military medal, which entitles them to a pension for life of 100 francs. The Palace of Saverne will serve as an asylum to the widows of high functionaries, civil as well as military, who have died in the service of the State, and the State is charged with payment of their debts. The dowry of 300,000 francs granted to the Duchess of Orleans is maintained. The President renounces all claim respecting confiscations pronounced in 1814 and 1815 against Bonaparte families.

The "Englishman" whose two letters to the *Times* on the coup d'état have created so much stir, writes again this morning on the absorbing topic of war and national defence.

"Despotism," he says, "and constitutional government are face to face. The outworks of our Parliamentary system were in Republican France. We would not see that. They have been stormed; the breaching battery is now pointed against us."

He lays about him in good dashing style, and our inefficient Ministry get a good share of hard blows. He objects to additional troops, both on account of their expense and as a civic danger. Peterloo, he says ominously, is not so far off as 1804. His remedy is ours.

"Volunteer troops are a part of our system—in the last war they were a large one. The actual Yeomanry is rather a set off to the Lord-lieutenant of the county, an electioneering influence, and a means of attending drawing-rooms in regimentals, than a genuine force. The Rifle Companies which are proposed would, under judicious regulations, be most valuable. The history of America shows what can be done by men who step forward to defend their country with a stout heart, a keen eye, and a good rifle."

The Ministry lived last year on the Exhibition. Will it, he asks, live this year on a panic? Further, with great force, he puts forward views in which we thoroughly sympathize.

"Is England to look on with folded arms at a new partition of Europe? Is Savoy to be annexed, or is Belgium to become a province of France, and the Rhine her boundary? Men whom I respect say, or seem to say, that that is no concern of ours. The Treaty of 1815 is waste paper; each party has broken it in turn, and Cracow, Hungary, Italy, and Germany, have found it an insulting mockery. Granted. What then? There is a law antecedent to all treaties, and above them—the law of self-preservation. It is England's right and duty to maintain her independence, her high place among the nations, the legacy our fathers left, the heritage we owe our sons. I am yet to be convinced that policy and prudence, or even mere economy, counsel us to remain passive, and to wait till despotism has closed its ranks, mustered its forces, in-

trenched its camp, and organized its blockade against our commerce and our principles, its razias against our coasts."

His position is, that the right disposition of our naval force is the true defence of the coast; and he insists that if war should come, it must be a naval war, a war of liberty—a war which would seal up the coast of France.

"How long would it be until there arose that sinister cry which has reached him once already—"à bas le tyran"? For the contest would not be what the former in its outset was—despotism and England against liberty, but England and self-government against despotism. The faction and the arms of Bonaparte would be opposed to us, but with us would be the intelligence of Frenchmen, their constitutional sympathies, their Republican convictions. Liberty would be our flag—Tyranny his—and who can doubt the issue?"

"And when the fiends who ride the whirlwind for the fell purpose of selfish aggrandisement and of human butchery are driven to the hell of conscience and of infamy out of which such passions come—when the clouds are scattered and the heavens are clear, and the sun of justice, peace, and freedom lights the earth again—it will disclose the people of England and of France exchanging, as before, the grasp of mutual friendship and esteem, and battling only in the generous contest for preëminence in arts, intelligence, and progress."

These are sentences and sentiments worthy of "an Englishman."

Slight symptoms of giving way are evident among the employers. They state, by circular, that the members of their association are "at liberty to employ labourers and apprentices in cleaning, stock-taking, &c., the rule (passed at the meeting which decided upon the closing of workshops from the 10th of January) only requiring that the engine should be stopped, and that no productive labour be carried on." They have also made advances to non-society men and the labourers, proposing ignominious conditions.

The monthly report of the Amalgamated Society was yesterday issued. On the subject of the strike the report states that from the returns already received the whole number of members now out of employment is short of 2500.

"This is certainly," continues the report, "a less number than we anticipated, and, if the 9411 remaining in work subscribe cheerfully one day's wages per week, our members may receive the necessary benefit without a large reduction of the society's funds."

"The subscriptions already received are very good, considering the short time there has been to organize committees to receive subscriptions; and another week will considerable augment the sum already received. Returns have already been received from 100 branches relative to the voting of £10,000 for coöperative workshops. We are happy to inform the members generally that nine-tenths of the votes are in favour of the resolution of the executive."

"The number of members last month was 11,752; this month there are 11,911; being an increase of 159 members."

"By order of the Council,

"JOSEPH MUSTO, President.

"WILLIAM ALLEN, General Secretary."

Admiral Ommaney, commanding at Plymouth, refused, it is said, to send a ship to look out for the boats of the Amazon. He has written to say that no application for a ship was made. Mr. Fox said he had called on the admiral, which the latter has written publicly to deny. Mr. Fox, it appears, did call, but saw only the Secretary, who said that the Admiral considered it useless to send a ship. Sir John Ommaney (by implication blames young Vincent for leaving him in total ignorance; and writes to Captain Chappell:—"As the Admiral serving here, and the only person capable of affording assistance, I appeal to you whether some person should not have come to me to have afforded me information, and to have solicited assistance, had it been required?" But as no one did go to him, ought he not to have gone to some one? Would it have been a very great breach of naval etiquette?"

The search for the missing boats of the Amazon by the steamers tardily sent out by Government has had no result. Mr. Acton Warburton, who accompanied the expedition, considers that it has not been efficient.

A few weeks before the close of the Great Exhibition a company of eminent gentlemen, natives of many countries, met together and formed an association for the purpose of obtaining from the Governments a cheap and uniform international postage rate. Lord Granville was then a simple member of the association; now he is a Minister. This was thought to furnish a favourable opportunity for pressing the question on the Government, and accordingly, a deputation waited on the Foreign Minister yesterday. Lord Granville acknowledged the importance of the project, and concurred in the views of the deputation. There were practical details which must be considered in other departments—in those of the Postmaster-General and of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He believed that both were considering the subject, and doing a great deal to remove the most glaring anomalies that at present existed in post-office communication. It was a question whether the objects of an international postage should be negotiated at once with all other countries, or in detail with individual governments. He would communicate to his colleagues what had been stated to him on that occasion, and do everything in his power to assist the views of the deputation.

A man was killed yesterday on the South-Western Railway.

# The Leader.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1862.

## Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

## PRACTICAL PROGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL FELLOWSHIP.

PRODUCTION is the grand object in all industrial organization. That is the best organization which, with the greatest economy of time, labour, and means, produces the most. The purpose of industry is the support of life, and that is a bad organization which contributes little towards the support and comfort of life. The very purpose of industry is frustrated if the labourer is sacrificed to the labour; for the labourer is a human being not less than the "consumer"—that idol of economists. Improvements in machinery are badly used if, "displacing labour," they deprive any human being of subsistence. Division of employments is badly conducted, if human beings are set to produce commodities that are not needed, and that therefore yield no return. On the other hand, measures to "protect" the labourer, by checking the amount of production, frustrate the very object of industry, and rob somebody—if not, as is most often the case, a good many persons—or even society at large. To protect native industry by excluding foreign commodities is to rob the whole of society for the sake of a part, which is evidently the worst economy. To protect one set of labourers by keeping another set in compulsory idleness is not less absurd. Yet economists of different schools justify all these mischiefs—the relentless displacement of labour and of subsistence by machinery, the prohibition of machinery to render toil more scarce, the robbing of society to protect native industry, the compulsory idleness of the pauper to protect the "independent" labourer! In all cases the absurdity is the direct result of looking at the relations of labour in too partial a view, and preventing some particular evil by a partial measure which produces a greater evil. In truth, the interests of society are not thus conflicting; the interest of the whole is, that there should be the greatest amount of aggregate happiness for the whole. If, then, we keep in mind that the primary purpose of industry is the subsistence and welfare of all the human beings, and that the direct object of industry is production, we shall find the clue to reconcile these apparent conflicts in the one blessed principle of Concert. Let the producer, the dealer, and the consumer—considering their common interest as superior and more enduring than their separate interest—come to a common understanding in conducting the division of employments, and we shall soon find a way to reconcile the several objects of improvement in machinery, free-trade, and protection.

The idea, indeed, is gaining ground. In spite of the obloquy which prejudice casts on the principle of Association, the practice of it is taking root in our industrial system; and the principle itself is attracting the notice of important bodies engaged in the larger evolutions of the industrial development which is advancing before our eyes. The proceedings of the Amalgamated Engineers are a striking instance. We regard without rancour the virulent abuse of the masters, through their secretary and their newspaper organ, because we believe that the said masters are fairly baffled and frightened. They see that, by the resort to coöperation, the men have begun that revolution which will take absolute power out of the hands of the employer; and, in the anger of alarm, they scold. Their bad language hurts no one very seriously or permanently; the bad faith of their representations will soon defeat itself; meanwhile the men and their friends are strong in truth, both of purpose and fact. And we know that ultimately, although deprived of the arbitrary power to tyrannize, the masters will find refuge from commercial vicissitude and bankruptcy in that same principle of concert. By associated labour and self-employment, the men obtain representation of their own



class among the class of employers; and if they persevere, they will be able to give to themselves all such just demands as are now vain petitions to their masters. But the grand distinction between the old trades' unions and the present action of the Amalgamated Engineers is, that the latter have rendered their union *productive*. This keeps the life in their industry; and, if continued, will render their union for mutual protection self-supporting.

The plan of the Poor-Law Reform Association, whose address we print in another page, is the same substitution of living industry for dead industry—the reproductive employment of the able-bodied paupers. While there is a single rood of ground uncultivated, a single job of work to be done, “able-bodied pauperism” is an absurdity in terms—an absurdity injurious to the ratepayer, cruel to the indigent labourer. “Relief” is an insult to the man who is willing and able to work; maintenance without return is an injustice to him who bears the charge. The absurdity has made itself practically apparent to those who administer the law, as our readers know; the Poor-Law Reform Association revives its activity, and will concentrate their efforts to effect an amendment. If the society does justice to its own mission, it will find abundant support ready made to its hand in many parts of the country. Meanwhile, it is in itself a great sign. A sound poor law would supply these three great wants in our industrial system—employment, for whom the boasted but imperfect law of “supply and demand” leaves without work, and therefore without subsistence; a ground whereon the labourer may rest his foot in effecting that change of employment which attends all improvements in machinery; a means of extinguishing those delusive mockeries of employment which constitute the *tail* of every branch of industry, and, by the competition of the starving with the hungry, and of the hungry with the better fed, is perpetually dragging down wages. A sound poor law is the ground on which Concert can be effected between the different branches of industry and the different classes, without disturbance of our existing arrangements. Reproductive employment is the solid basis, Concert the living principle; and here we have an important Association to concentrate the reform which is spontaneously making itself known, even too vigorously for official blindness, in many parts of the country.

The conference to be summoned by the Irish Board of Manufactures, to investigate the principle of coöperation as a method of reviving Irish industry, is another important step. The Board has access to the help of one on the spot, who is master of the theory of coöperation, a man of business, and practically acquainted with Ireland.

An event less distinctly defined, but not less significant, is the close attention given to the subject by a new class of enquirers. Among the trustees of the Amalgamated Engineers are Lord Goderich and Mr. Augustus Vansittart. Lord Goderich is an avowed promoter of Socialism; and, although young, is a master of the subject. Lord Ingestre is not a convert, but he is evidently willing to enquire. Other titled and Parliamentary names we might mention, of men who are favourably considering the question; but we prefer to leave the investigators undisturbed. More than thirty years ago we saw titled and even royal persons countenancing Mr. Owen's benevolent plans—we then saw a Vansittart enquire, a Duke of Kent and Duke of Sussex jointly presiding at a public meeting; but the doctrine was not understood as it is now, was not a living demand in a large portion of the population. The fact is that the Protectionists are beginning to see that Concert can realise what Protection failed to attain, while Free Traders are discerning in it the complement of free-trade. It is the principle to attain Protection without starving production, free-trade without displacing labour; it is the true principle of “order,” wealth, and peace; and we have daily proof that whole classes and leading men are rapidly learning to appreciate its value.

#### LOUIS NAPOLEON'S IRON CONSTITUTION.

The new “Constitution” granted by Louis Napoleon is at once recognized as an edict of self-appointment to absolute power; but the thoroughgoing and elaborate care with which he has retained everything in his own hand does not come clearly out until we look closely into all the provisions of this monstrous charter. The President is the beginning, the middle, and the end; every other functionary is either his creature, or his slave, dependent or in chains. He is a monarch to all

intentions and purposes; he commands the land and sea forces; makes treaties of alliance and commerce; appoints all officers; makes regulations for the execution of the laws; renders “justice,” and pardons. But all that is a small part only of his power; his largest range is that which he exercises by the assistance of a Senate, a Legislative Body, a Council of State—all his passive or supple instruments.

The Ministers are responsible only to him; only for their individual acts—with no joint responsibility. In other words, there is no Ministry, as we understand the word in this country; but there are only heads of departments, his servants, and acting jointly and separately in execution of his will.

The Senate will be nominated by him. It may consist of one hundred and fifty members, but at first it will only number eighty; leaving a margin for him to swamp any majority, should that by any possibility be adverse—a provision which attests the excess of his care, since an adverse majority is the last thing that he could be expected to encounter in that body. It is to consist of “Cardinals, Marshals, and Admirals”—the chiefs of the clergy whom he has made his obliged allies, and of his land and sea forces, and of any other persons whom he may choose. Its services are to be “gratuitous”—they are to expect nothing; but he may give a “dotation” of £1200 a year to any whom he pleases. As in the case of waiters, the fee is to be “optional,” and dependent on behaviour. He appoints President and Vice-President; he is to prorogue, convoke, and limit in its term of sittings, which are private! He is to appoint, regulate, and fee; and yet he has taken the precaution to swamp, if needful!

The Legislative Body (it has not even a name, but only a descriptive designation) is elected by universal suffrage—as he was. Its President and Vice-President the Prince himself will name. The sittings are to be public—unless five members call for a secret sitting. Its debates are to be reported—only by the official “Hansard,” whom the journals may copy.

The Council of State, forty or fifty in number, is the Privy Council of the scheme; the Prince President himself is to preside; he nominates it; his Ministers form part of it; its members are to be the spokesmen of Government in supporting measures before the Senate and the Legislative Body.

Now, let us see the functions of these bodies in matters of legislation. The “Prince President”—he alone has the initiative of all laws. Bills are to be drawn up by the Council of State, his Privy Council and Ministers. The Legislative Body is to discuss it—in secret sitting, if five Members please; if about to be amended, the amendment is to be made in committee; but “if the amendment is not adopted by the Council of State, it cannot be submitted to the discussion of the Legislative Body!” The bill, we presume, to which the Legislative Body may just say Yea or Nay, then passes to the Senate—the House of Lords salaried by the Crown—where there is a power of vetoing various measures. And finally, the bill, thus guarded through the discussion of the mock Parliament, must await sanction, promulgation—aye, and execution—at the hands of the President, under such regulations as he may fix.

The Senate—his nominees enjoying or awaiting a salary—is charged with the important duties of giving a Constitution to Algeria and the Colonies!—of interpreting all doubtful passages in the text of this Constitution!—and of fixing the President's own salary! They are to pay each other, but not with each other's cash—oh! no; they are to pay each other out of the funds to be drawn from a grateful country.

Is there not something more hideous even than its arbitrary power in the cold impudence of this solemn farce? If Louis Napoleon had abolished all law except his will, had pleaded a divine mission, and had professed to appeal to Heaven alone, it would have been less insulting to France, than the clause preceding these bad provisions, which declares that “The President of the Republic is responsible to the French People, to whom he has always the right to make an appeal!”

The People have had an earnest of the mode in which he will make the appeal—in his midnight burglary of power, and his highway robbery of a national vote.

They have in the following clause a sample of the legislation which they are to expect from the new machinery:—“Art. 57. A law will determine the municipal organization. The mayors will be

appointed by the executive power, and may be taken from without the municipal council.”

They have, in the total suppression of the journals, in the abolition of juries—and, above all, in the wholesale proscriptions—specimens of the mode in which the laws are to be executed by the new Prince-President-Autocrat, “*Dei gratia*,” Emperor that is to be.

But what are Law, and Right, and Justice, and Humanity, to the perjured man who only ceased to be a conspirator when he became an outlaw?—whose authority is an insult, whose domination is a fraud, whose Government is a living lie? To the man, whose every hour of usurpation is a defiance and a threat to freedom and to progress, whose religion is persecution, whose theory of property is confiscation, whose defence of society is to rend families asunder by delation and espionage, to tear helpless women from their beds, to rob childhood of home and parents, to make widows and orphans by decree! If there be a spark of honesty or of honour, if there be a gleam of dignity and independence, if there be an aspiration after free spiritual culture, if there be a thought of virtue, a cry of conscience, a sentiment of noble impulses—away with it! It is an offence against the “sincerity of imperial institutions.” Arms and the Man are the substitute for such pitiful juggleries—the inventions of pestilent thinkers and “paper scratchers.”

M. de Morny's Circular to the Prefects on the conduct of the Elections is the best commentary on the execution of the laws under the present régime. It is the official ostracism of eloquence and capacity. It is cynicism surpassing itself in describing the work of the Government as “pacification and reedification,” for the banished and the murdered need no “pacifying,” and the “reedification” is a scramble of bandits!

Into prison vans and convict ships are herded, like penned and goaded cattle, all who will not bow down before the brazen image. The soldiers, the orators, the poets, the legislators, the publicists, the philosophers, the historians of France—Victor Hugo, Emile de Girardin, Edgar Quinet, Pascal Duprat, De Flotte, De Rémusat, Esquiros, Schœlcher, Bédau, Lamoricière, and Charras—must seek France elsewhere.

Their country is a corpse: “the vultures swoop down upon her as on a prey.” By these expulsions Louis Napoleon proclaims that he and France cannot coexist; for if “France” is more than a geographical expression, it means the genius of that nation, its statesmanship, its men of mark and public esteem, its learning, its honour, its science, its worth, its poetry, its chivalry—all, all expelled, to make room for him! He has here cut short the history of France, and henceforth narrows that history to the autobiography of a Count Fathom.

#### VOLUNTEER REGIMENTS AND RIFLE CORPS.

CHEERING is it to see the spirit which displays itself as the idea of invasion spreads—a hearty resolve to be ready—almost a pleasure at the prospect of an opportunity to be active in the service of our country. For many a long year this is the first occasion for the display of a national feeling; but no sooner does the occasion offer, than out it comes, as glad and manly as ever. Already are all classes resolving to make ready for the service; Rifle Clubs are the leading idea; other forms of Volunteer organization are beginning to suggest themselves; and if the Government does justice to the spirit of the People in “calling out the militia,” it will make provision for permitting an alternative of service in Volunteer corps duly recognised.

It is most desirable to give this spirit its full practical development. Without wishing in the slightest degree to check the gay temper of the general zeal, we most earnestly pray that it may not degenerate into sport. Let us have no “playing at soldiers;” the movement to which the People is instinctively resorting, from the sense of necessity, ought to have consequences more important and permanent than a mere demonstration to keep off an invader; and we wish to see it set about in a business-like fashion.

Let us have magnificent companies of the high-born and wealthy, if the young men of our leading families choose to render conspicuous, by a clothing of gold and brilliant colours, the example which they mean to set of activity and discipline. Any amount of guineas may be spent on a uniform; and a splendid new order of chivalry, justifying its magnificence by its deeds—by its soldierly discipline at drill, and by its courage should active service

offer—would redeem the fading character of the "aristocracy." But we should still better like to see a well-born regiment setting an example of manly plainness, of stout serviceable efficiency, clothed in sober grey. The full equipment of a rifleman is rated at £15 or £10; but we believe that it *can* be had even for the half of that smaller sum. Brilliant colours are to be eschewed on every account; even rifle green is, though theoretically favoured, *not* the best practically, but rather a dark iron grey, or some equally neutral tint. Such an uniform may be comely and even picturesque—indeed it ought to be both. And as a matter of economy, the greater part of it, especially the trousers, might be fitted to fall in with every day costume.

Various kinds of rifle are recommended, in preference to the Minié; but it would be well that the corps themselves should be variously equipped, and even variously organized; so as to afford every facility for differing means, capacity, inclination, and opportunity of calling or abode. In the United States, the Uniform Companies clothe themselves, but are furnished with arms by the State—a very good distribution of charge; but at all events the arms should be approved by some competent public authority.

A matter of first-rate importance is the selection of officers; and in that, as in all other matters concerning either Rifle Clubs or Volunteer Regiments, the principal points are efficiency and economy. Every corps of the kind should have a good commandant; he should be either an officer on half-pay, a retired officer, or a man of military knowledge, used to govern, and certain of the respect and confidence of the officers and men. For that reason, if for no other, he should be neither too old nor too young.

The working man of the corps, however—its life and soul, particularly during the period of its organization—would be the Adjutant. He would superintend the drill and exercise, act as Secretary of the Regiment or Club, assist the commanding officer, and keep him advised on the management of the corps; and in such a body probably the Adjutant would take charge of the financial affairs. Having to devote his time so closely to the affairs of his corps, probably the Adjutant would be paid—the only paid officer. He would need the assistance of a Quartermaster Sergeant—an old soldier—in taking charge of the stores, spare arms, &c.; who would keep and repair the regimental targets, repair arms, set the targets in the practice-ground, pitch flags and camp colours, make up cartridges, &c. In this work the Quartermaster Sergeant would need the help of "Pioneers," perhaps six or eight in number; but varying, of course, with the size of the corps. A Drill Sergeant, with his corporal and assistants, might be procured among the Pensioners; they should be thoroughly effective, and, therefore, they should be sober men. In a full regiment, buglers, at least one to each fifty men, would be required, with a bugle major. It would be necessary to pay all these men. But a thoroughly efficient Adjutant would know all his duties: get an efficient Adjutant, give him a good Sergeant Major and other aids, and he would make all go well.

All well, if the men of the corps did their duty to their comrades and to themselves. They might elect the officers; but on the ground the men themselves should render instant, cheerful, silent, and exact obedience to the word of command. Let a drum-head court martial—each man tried by his peers—enforce soldierly discipline by fines. But the best of all discipline is that strictly enforced by a consciousness of its importance, and an artistic love of doing effectually any work taken in hand.

The "expense," at which some pennywise folks may grumble, would be really in the nature of an investment. The first step towards financial reform, towards reducing the most overgrown part of our military expenditure, is the process of nationalizing the Army. At the present day, with the aspect of affairs on the Continent, no enthusiast would be mad enough to propose a *reduction* of our available force; but the enormous expenditure may be reduced by reducing the paid soldiery as the body of the nation is put into a state of military efficiency. The same calculation applies to every one of our colonies; so that at home, and in the settlements, an immense reduction of the standing force is not only possible, but easy. We know well enough that certain droning officials, who wish to "keep down" everything, in order to continue slumbering in peace, have a fear of placing arms in the hands of the People; a disarmed People, they

think, is easier to rule. It is also easier to conquer. The fact is, that nervous apprehensions of this sort are idle, old-womanish fancies. Where the body of the People is armed, it is not only strong against the external invader, but the internal traitor, and faction is powerless before it. In a People among whom arms are equally diffused, education, social standing, the opportunity for acquiring superior skill, would have at least their proportionate influence; indeed, we believe that the proportion of their influence would be enhanced. All Europe is overrun by Standing Armies, which are fed by debt and war; America, with a *national* army, is impregnable. Louis Napoleon has shown the base and revolutionary uses to which a standing army may be put; in Carolina, Cornwallis showed how little a brave General and an efficient army could do against an armed People in its own land; and the most superficial knowledge of America lets any one see, at a glance, that neither invasion nor faction, of the maddest mood, could hope to have a chance of conquering the republic. In France, with the standing army, Louis Napoleon establishes himself in an hour; in America, with its army-nation, "Governor" Dorr, whom it would be a libel to call the Louis Napoleon of Rhode Island, was a lamentable failure. In this country we may have our quarrels and class jealousies; but a genuine trust of the People, without distinctions of class, would find its response in a forgetfulness of past dissension and a thorough revival of that national feeling which is already breaking forth with its cheerful countenance, like the honest sun through the clouds of a winter's day and the double-distilled grossness of our city smoke. Let us trust our countrymen, and they will not fail to join in the common loyalty to their land.

#### LANDING OF THE FRENCH.

We were electrified this morning by a telegraphic intelligence that the French landed at Dover the day before yesterday, and will probably be in possession of London before London is in possession of this news. The visitation turns out to be the result of a long-concerted plan. The visits of the National Guard were not altogether convivial; M. Salandrouze de Lamornaix, M. Soyer, are Frenchmen—the latter having kept possession of Gorehouse, so dear to the memories of the Prince President.

We understand that, with his usual decision of character, Lord John Russell instantly took command of the Channel fleet, and forthwith ordered home the fleet from the Chinese and South seas; keeping the Channel fleet in the Tagus to watch the important trade in port wine, while the blockade of Lagos is to be strengthened, to prevent any diversion in that important region. But as to matters at home, after recording his disapproval of the conduct of his Majesty Louis Napoleon, through Lord Granville, in a spirited protest, Lord John thought it more constitutional to apply to Parliament for a new Alien Act to be enforced against these unwarrantable trespassers on our hospitality. Meanwhile it is said that the A Division of Police will be reinforced by the engagement of forty-seven men of excellent character; and Lord John contemplates a letter to the city of London, in which he will suitably allude to this lamentable aggression of a foreign potentate. It is satisfactory to know that the Lord Mayor has expressed his resolute determination to support the independence of the kingdom, and to exert his influence with the President of the French Republic; good offices, in which, forgetting all past differences, he will be joined by his predecessor, Sir John Musgrave. Mr. Dilke and the other Commissioners also join in the same honourable service. The foreign refugees who have previously sought refuge amongst us, and who are obnoxious to his Majesty Louis Napoleon, have had our embarrassing position laid before them; and we understand that they would be quite willing to go away, or to be given up, rather than bring England into trouble. So that Government is energetic and fearless in its duty.

Meanwhile, however, the illustrious invader has not suffered himself to be detained even by these formidable preparations. The manner of his arrival is historically accurate. He left Boulogne with his suite in a numerous flotilla of boats. On approaching Dover, like Ascanius, he altered his name; and, instead of Louis Napoleon, called himself Julius Napoleon. As the galley ran aground, the Standard-bearer (Herr Pischek) jumped into the surf, bearing the eagle, which has now braved so many times the ridicule and sneers of Prince

Julius Napoleon's detractors. Our illustrious visitors intended to march at once; but the effects of so long a voyage obliged them to take a little repose.

An eminent wax chandler instantly waited on Prince Julius Napoleon to request his portrait in wax for the Chamber of Horrors; two eminent daguerreotypists, an eminent tailor, and an eminent printseller, also waited on the Prince; and an eminent theatrical manager invited him to take any place in his theatre, either on the stage or in the royal box.

Learning of the determined purpose of his Majesty Julius Napoleon to come up to town as soon as his followers should have recovered their health, her Majesty's Ministers resolved on still more energetic measures. The Special Constables were again called out, and they have answered the appeal to a man. And the old bivouac swords have been served out to the Police.

A curious incident occurred at the landing. A company of the garrison at Arch Cliff Fort had been drawn up to oppose the invader, and actually fired pointblank into the faces of our neighbours; which caused a good deal of amusement among that gay and witty throng. It is said that the cartridges had been made by contract; but that the contract will be more carefully observed next year.

One person suggested that it would be a very effective measure to offer our visitors some of the "preserved" meats from Gosport; and objections against the shocking barbarity of such a desire were nearly overruled by a member of the Peace Society, who objected to fighting, and justified the proposed use of condemned stores on free trade principles; but a gentleman said, from his knowledge of the French, that some officer would be sure to look into the stores before they were served out—a practice recently introduced into our own stores, with a very beneficial effect. This suggestion induced the proposers of the plan for destroying the French army to relinquish it. The stores, therefore, are still left for the benefit of the Hampshire hogs.

As an auxiliary measure to the calling out of the Special Constables, by an official request, a deputation from the Peace Society has been sent down to Dover, to represent the inhumanity and impolicy of war.

Canterbury, January 23.

The Emperor Julius Napoleon received the Peace deputation very politely, and the members were delighted with the cordiality of his manner. He explained that he could not delay his departure; which seemed reasonable. He permitted Mr. Cobden to make his address; and that gentleman proceeded, with his usually mild style, to illustrate the effect of war on finance, exports, &c. Even the Emperor was surprised at the masterly manner in which the truly English statesman continued his discourse, in spite of the difficulty of his position in speaking while he was constantly walking backwards before the horse of his Majesty, who listened with great attention, in the intervals of looking at the country. Mr. Cobden's embarrassment must have been much increased by the crowding of the general population, which accumulated in front as the soldiery advanced; to say nothing of the cocks and hens that fluttered before the moving body and around the speaker, in great flocks. They have just entered the town in that order.

Canterbury, Two o'Clock.

They have just passed out of the town in the same order. Mr. Cobden was much applauded by the Men of Kent for the resolute spirit of his opposition to the honourable Member for France. We have since heard from Sittingbourne that Mr. Cobden appeared much fatigued. His motion was carried against him by a large majority.

In the French organ of this day we read, among the fashionable arrivals—"At the Symposium, his Majesty the Emperor Julius Napoleon, and a numerous suite. We understand that his Majesty is not unprepared with a constitution for England, as the Trans-oceanic department of France." We may add that the *Leader*, the *Times*, and other journals opposed to the Party of Order, are to be instantly suppressed. Prince Albert has been invited to join the Consultative Commission, and Queen Victoria has been invited to the evening parties to be held at St. James's during the season. Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Julian Harney, Mr. Disraeli, Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Macaulay, Mr. Richard Oastler, the Duke of Wellington, and persons of that class, have received orders to embark immediately for Bermuda. The Special Constables are dissolved. The Emperor appeals to the English people.



## THE GOLDEN ISLES.

How enviously the ghost of Raleigh must look up from his morning paper in Hades, as he reads the stories of the Californian and Australian gold discoveries. El Dorado? Here it is. Australia is the veritable Land of Gold. It grows there. "The ground is full of it," writes an astounded and dismayed employer of labour. In the soft mud on the banks of the rivers; in the hard rock of a higher level; among the secluded valleys; in the basins of torrents, and scattered profusely through the beds of clay, lie rich heaps of gold. In the latter it is "not only perceptible, but conspicuous." And every day they find new beds, a golden store practically infinite. First, we had the fields near Bathurst, then Geelong, after that Buninyong, later still Van Dieman's Land. Everywhere

"Gold, gold, gold, without end."

The yield of these treasures of nature is something fabulous; they surpass California in fertility. Eight square feet of "dirt" is a fortune. Lucky men dig or wash £4 a day; and there is an instance of one man who found £1500 worth in a week, another £1000, and a very fortunate wight picked up £13 before breakfast!

Of course the same phenomena are exhibited in the labour market as were visible in California—demand at a maximum, supply at a minimum. Shepherds leave their flocks to clip themselves; seamen desert their ships, and are replaced by others taken from the common gaol; carpenters, bricklayers, masons, butchers, bakers, all manner of labouring bipeds, rush frantically to the fields of gold. A sea-captain writing from Melbourne, Oct. 3, says:—"Nearly all my men are gone; there is not a man to be had for love or money. I expect to be left alone with my wife and a boy or two; the lightermen have all struck work; it will be utterly impossible to get away at all, if the present excitement continues." What a picture! It is only a sample of a very large stock on hand.

And yet there is little or no emigration to Australia. Lord Grey, with abundant funds, and an unlimited number of persons desirous to emigrate, sits twiddling his thumbs, and will help none to depart. Starve in England, become paupers in England, breed candidates for Newgate in England, beg vigorously in England, but not one of you shall go to Australia—that is the practical gospel of Earl Grey. Now would it not be every way sound policy to ship off our acknowledged superfluity of unemployed labourers to these golden regions—there to become productive, independent, wealthy citizens? If there be now danger of the Australian population becoming demoralized by gold hunting, and debilitated by the gold fever, would it not be wise to keep pouring in such a supply of fresh, healthy population, as shall not only right the balance between supply and demand, but maintain the sound standard of moral health.

Constant remunerative employment makes good citizens. Here it is in abundance. Not only gold to dig, but flocks to tend, houses to build, provisions to be supplied, commerce to be carried on, ships to be navigated—every conceivable form of industry needful to the healthy development of a young colony—all these are to be found there. The agricultural labourer who vegetates on seven shillings a week, the meagre mechanic, the wretched factory operative, the men who live by their scanty wits—all whose employment is uncertain, and whose wages when employed are inadequate—for all these there is a home in the Golden Isles of the Southern Seas.

## MARCH OF OPINION.

REACTION carried to its extreme becomes the most "advanced" opinion. For instance, the *Post* supersedes us this week in freeing religion from cant and quackery. The special interposition of Providence in behalf of mortals scarcely to be considered "remarkable men," is strongly rooted in the British mind; and you would not expect, for instance, to find it gainsayed in the organ of fashionable intelligence.

The Reverend Mr. Blood, one of the survivors of the Amazon, preached a sermon by special request at St. Andrew's, Plymouth, on Sunday last, and in the pulpit of the edifice detailed his own experiences. He imputed his escape to the special interposition of Providence; and the *Post* does justice on him—

"As a proof, as if one were yet wanted, of the truth of Scripture—that the hairs of our head are all numbered, and that the Almighty holds the waters in the hollow of his hand—this minister of the

Church of England adduced his own preservation and the destruction of nearly two hundred of his fellow-creatures. He was assisted by a special vision—a voice from Heaven said to him, 'Go to bed early. Do not take off your clothes—not even your boots—do not go between the sheets—lie down on the outside of the bed.' Even so minute were the directions of the guardian angel sent to this good gentleman. He obeyed implicitly; nay, he even went, in his zeal for himself, beyond his instructions, for he went to sleep in his spectacles. The voice was always at his elbow, labouring for him, and pointing out the means available for his rescue, with a view to which solely the guardian angel had placed two breakers in the boat that received him, to enable the gallant sailors who were instruments of his safety to bale out the water that flowed rapidly in through the hole in the bottom. It does not seem to have occurred to this reverend gentleman that it would have been a much less roundabout way of doing the same thing, if his guardian angel had at once put the plug that fitted the hole in the boat while he was about it."

Another contemporary excels us in sound Democratic views.

"There seems, then, no doubt that we really have a California of our own, if we have only the spirit to make good use of it. What a blessing if the idle fellows that hang on our parishes and beg in our streets—that choke up our charities and harden our hearts—would take themselves off to a place where, with a very small amount of labour and skill, they might scrape up little fortunes! But as the example of California has led to the discovery of the Australian deposits, who can tell how many more gold fields we shall have in a few years, inviting the population of this crowded, and, we may add, this groaning Europe, to seek new homes through the length and breadth of the globe—to found new institutions—and to enjoy that comfort and that liberty which is denied them by the monopolies and the tyrannies of the Old World. 'All things are double' in Providence, and possibly that same gold which led the population of Europe to America in the first instance may now be employed to counteract the great triumph of despotism and the general collapse of popular institutions which mark this lamentable era."

Is not this passage good sound *Leader*? Whence, then, do we take it?

"Tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis."

The *Times* varies, and turns into ourselves. "All things are double"—the *Times* and the *Leader* are twins. Large classes of the people practically adopt Socialism; the entire public makes our patriotic appeal to national defences a common-places; the *Post* invades our position in religious affairs; the *Times* is the ultra-democratic journal—there is no keeping the lead of your thorough reactionists; they go back so fast, that one meets them at the Antipodes—and they have got there first!

## DEDICATED TO OUR FRIENDS IN FRANCE.

CONSTITUTION de la République Française, l'an de grace, 1852:—

Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité.  
 Les Français ont la Liberté,  
 Mais la liberté . . . de se taire;  
 Ils ont aussi l'Egalité,  
 Mais devant la loi . . . militaire,  
 Et quant à la Fraternité;  
 Je vous le dis en vérité,  
 Ils en goûtent la volupté  
 Au cimetière  
 Où côte à côte on les enterre!—C.

## GLOSSARY OF NAPOLEONIC NEOLOGISMS.

CONSTITUTION—Prohibition of everything that is not abolished; national decay.

Convict—Any person that has convictions.

Corps Législatif—Legislative Corpse.

Discuter—To say "Yes:" the word is applied to the pleadings of the Legislative Corpse. Formally it has the alternative of saying "No;" but the chance of such an accident has only a theoretical existence.

Gratuitous—Open to a salary of £1200.

Justice, High Court of—A Judge and Jury Club; a slang burlesque. It admits of no appeal.

Justice, Minister of—A Police Spy. A Detective.

Liberté—There is no English equivalent for this word.

Procès verbal—The record in criminal proceedings and proceedings of the Legislative Corpse. In the latter case it is a remarkable improvement on the old criminal process in presenting a record before the offence; as in case the Legislative Corpse should say "No."

President (from the Spanish)—Chief of a Presidio, or penal colony. France has recently become a penal home colony.

Republic—The private perquisite of the President.

Universal Suffrage—Strap oil; pigeon's milk; a hoax or practical joke on a large scale; Amphytrionizing a nation; "letting" a nation "into a line," as Drummell said of his friend's tailor—"Who suffers?"

## EXIT PARTY OF ORDER.

A PARAGRAPH from the *Débats* lends us a pleasant glimpse of an episode under the comfortable régime established, *consensu populi*, by the French Defender of the Faith, and Saviour of Society. France, at this rate will soon resemble the society which was entirely composed of Presidents and Vice-Presidents. We have but a melancholy satisfaction in knowing that many of the proscribed of to-day were the proscribers of yesterday. Of the Chiefs of that great "Party of Order" which fell under its own weight, it may at least be said that they "suffer where they sinned."

Poor gentlemen! how harshly their monotonous tune of "Religion, Family, Property"—principles so long identified with M. Louis Bonaparte—must now sound in their ears. The Restorer of Religion drives them into a hopeless exile by a worse than Edict of Nantes; tears them from their families, and "accords them a little time (forty-eight hours, perhaps) to settle their affairs." "Some (says the 'sadder and wiser' *Débats*) are alienating their property, and others realising it;"—we are anxious to have explained the nice distinction between "alienating" and "realising;"—"while others, again, are endeavouring to create for themselves a position in another country." What position are the exiles of the Party of Order to "create for themselves?" unless it be positions in the police, as Protectors of Property *par excellence*? But the unkindest cut of all is to come. "These gentlemen are to be conducted to the frontiers by police agents in coloured clothes." Is it "these gentlemen" or the police agents who are to appear on this occasion "in coloured clothes?" And what is to be the colour of the clothes? Terrible is the vagueness; terrible the familiarity of this announcement. What a latitude it allows to the caprices of theatrical tyranny bent upon making even the exit of its victims effective in point of costume. If, by a cruel derision, the clothes should be "red!" or worse, parti-coloured, as befitting men who have served and sold so many Governments with a facility of perfidy only now excelled by one who has "bettered his instructions."

## ABOLITION OF QUARANTINE.

THE report presented to the French National Academy of Medicine, on Dr. James Gillkrest's treatise, *Is Yellow Fever Contagious or Not*, is not only a high tribute to the skill and services of our fellow-countryman, the eminent Inspector-General of Army Hospitals; it is also a more remarkable advance towards a sound and complete international Sanitary Reform than has yet been accomplished. It is a scientific recognition by such men as Majendie of the absolute inutilty of Quarantine—that obsolete tradition of barbarism and ignorance, which, even in these days of steam and electric telegraphs, is an "institution" few have had the courage to assail. A sort of bigotry, mingled with contempt, has protected from innovation what has long been considered by science as a great folly, and by all travellers a nuisance. Dr. Gillkrest will have done more to quicken the circulation of international life than any Peace Congress extant. And we need not appeal to the reminiscences of Eastern travellers for gratitude to the man who will be hereafter known as the Destroyer of those Sanitary Bastilles—known by the name of Lazarettos. The misery of forty days in a Lazaretto is, after all, ill repaid by a ludicrous description of the tortures in a traveller's Notebook! Another reflection occurs to us; it is, that Sanitary discipline and Quarantine regulations have been too often abused by petty powers for the purposes of political exclusion and hostility, especially by snarling despotisms like Naples, which can only bark, not bite.

FOREST TREES.—In contemplating the length of life of one of the reverend and hoary elders of the forest, we are apt to forget that it is not to be measured by the standard of man or of the higher animals; for it is really not the measure of an individual existence, but, as it were, of the duration of an empire or nation. A tree is a populous community, presided over by an oligarchy, of which the flowers are the aristocracy, and the leaves the working classes. The life of the individual members of the commonwealth is brief enough, but the state of which they are members, has often a vast duration; and some of those whose ages we have referred to, could they take cognisance of human affairs, would look with contempt upon the instability and irregularity of human governments and states, as compared with the unchanging order and security of their own. —Professor Forbes, in *Art Journal*.

## Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

We might write an essay on Persecution apropos of three topics which this week furnishes. The first is the expulsion of the *Westminster Review* from a Scotch Institution, on the charge of "heresy." This is an amusing illustration. When the *Review* was in other hands, its "heresies" were avowed without scruple; yet the Institution quietly gave them shelter, because its members had a laudable desire to see the *Review*. No sooner does Mr. JOHN CHAPMAN take the *Review* into his hands than the *nasum theologicum* (quicker at detecting stinks than perfumes) at once scents out "heresy;" although, in point of fact, the reproach which we "heretics" all bring against the *Review* is, that it is too orthodox!

The second illustration we should draw from the *Rambler*, the January number of which opens with a bold and able article on *Galileo and his Condemnation*. This is taking the bull by the horns. The case of GALILEO is one of the stones perpetually flung at the head of Catholicism; and in truth it is an ugly affair, for not only does it show the Mother of all Truth to be absurdly in error, but because the error is now confessed, it suggests uneasy suspicions of "infallibility." If the Church could be wrong on the question of the earth's rotation, she could be wrong on other questions. But the Church is infallible, and can't be wrong. The writer of the paper in question gets out of this dilemma through an issue which may prove a dangerous avenue of attack. He says:—"The Church has never claimed the gift of infallibility for her decisions about all matters 'of fact.' Her infallible authority is limited to the sphere of revealed doctrine, and facts therewith connected." Ah! if the Church really thus limited her claims!

On the question of Persecution as a thing lawful, nay righteous, hear how boldly this writer announces his belief:—

"We have no intention of entering now upon the general question of religious persecutions; but this we will say, that those who believe the Old Testament to be the word of God cannot deny that He has sanctioned the crushing of falsehood by material means. To make a great outcry about a Christian having put into practice the same principles which were enjoined by God as rules of action upon Moses, Josue, and Samuel, which were applauded in David, and which St. Peter was inspired to put into practice, may be good policy in one who wishes simply to protest against Rome, caring little what becomes of Christianity, but is suicidal in the Protestant who wishes at the same time to uphold 'the whole Bible' as the pure and exclusive revelation of God."

Perfectly true—and useful to keep alive in the memories of men, that the true spirit of the Bible be fairly appreciated! LOUIS NAPOLEON must be a man after God's own heart, according to the Bible theory; and, indeed, we see that the Holy Catholic Church blesses his deeds, and glories in his righteous triumph! O Holy, Holy Church! O noble exemplar of man's highest aspirations! You bless the Tree of Liberty in 1848; in 1852 you bless the ruffian debauchée; in 1853, if the Goddess of Reason be triumphant, and hold out hopes of sharing with you "the loaves and fishes," you will bless her; nay, you will sing *Te Deum* to the Devil himself if ever his dusky majesty should get the upper hand! for is not "order" the one desired thing—"our being's end and aim?"

Our third illustration might be taken from the able article on DESCARTES, in the *Edinburgh Review*—essentially an article about his "Life and Genius," not a philosophic exposition of the Cartesian philosophy. In it, after commenting upon the want of courage DESCARTES showed in his unnecessary servility to the Church, the essayist flings what may be called almost a sarcasm at Philosophy, because it has not inspired men with the same enthusiasm which Religion inspired into its Martyrs. We answer that this is not true

as a matter of fact, and not fair as a comparison. Philosophy without its Martyrs? What, then, was ANAXAGORAS—what was SOCRATES—what was VANINI—what was GIORDANO BRUNO—what was SERVETUS, the pantheist? What were the countless victims to that slow torture of private persecution which, like a bloodhound, hunts down the daring innovators in science? If the martyrs have not been so numerous as religious martyrs, the reason is not that Philosophy inspires man with no noble enthusiasm, but that its convictions are not of the same awful responsibility. The religious martyr dies for his salvation; the truth or error of his creed is not only of infinite moment to him, but of infinite moment to mankind. The philosopher knows that his creed is, after all, only an explanation of the great mystery such as suffices to him—an explanation possibly erroneous, for absolute certainty no man can boast of—and knowing this, he does not feel called upon to die for it. He thinks with POPE:—

"'Tis with men's judgments as their watches; none Goes always right, yet each believes his own!"

Some set their watches by the cathedral clock, others by the modest country church; this man will only follow Greenwich time, that only the Horseguards; one trusts in the clock on 'Change, another sets his by one in a gin palace—meanwhile the great Horologe of Time strikes its hours through the Universe with unalterable regularity, and we are left to the confusion of our watches, squabbling about the right when all are wrong!

We hoped that the questions of "animalism" in erotic Poetry, and the right of Art to consecrate by its beauty things which are withdrawn from the vulgar, were settled. But the originator of the discussion, W. M., has again addressed us, and in fairness we are bound to give him this final hearing:

"Glasgow, January 16, 1852.

SIR,—In my unlucky communication of the 20th ultimo, I indicated the fact of my being aware that there is such a thing as poetic license, although, upon being honoured with the strictures of the critic in the *Leader* of the 3rd instant, I must confess I was much enlightened as to the extent of that privilege. I now perceive that the trifling escapade upon which I had inadvertently is, in fact, no blemish at all, but rather the reverse; that the poet knew his ground perfectly; and that he has only to improve upon the hints now thrown out to rise higher still in the estimation of his readers. I had previously no conception that (1) the *furor amoris* like all the other inferior passions, is not liable to excess—that poetry and the arts possess the virtue of an alchemy so complete and absolute as that (2) what is in its own nature morally faulty or worthless, ceases to be so when clothed in numbers, or when transferred to the canvas or marble; or, in fine that (3) poets and artists can not only themselves handle pitch without defilement, but can, through their respective mediums, convey the same immunity to their students and votaries. All this was new to me, although, as it appears, not so to others; and hence the scorn and recrimination with which I am met. I am obliged, however, by your sense of justice, which has shielded me from the aspersions of being actuated by unworthy motives, which it seems have been freely attributed, notwithstanding my original disclaimer of any such as might have been supposed to have a bearing under the circumstances. I was certainly not without a distinct presentiment that I deliberately exposed myself to not a little hostility; still, it is a pity that the gentle art of poetry should number so many intemperate and unscrupulous adherents. Let the silence, it has been thought fit to impose upon such be to them a lesson to abstain for the future in judging of others by what may be passing within their own minds.

"To your Newcastle correspondent I am bound to defer, especially as he professes to have submitted the point in dispute to the test I proposed. Without abating my own opinion—and while I do not hold myself responsible to reconcile the discrepancy—a Scotchman does not like to be outdone in gallantry. I therefore submit the following towards an explanation. If it be admitted (but which, upon the whole, seems to be doubtful) that (4) the natural passions may be indulged and expressed licentiously, then the boundary between what is innocent and what is otherwise must be placed somewhere; while, at the same time, in minds of equal purity, but possessing different degrees of moral intrepidity, what may repel in one case may be approached safely and without any recoil in another. The case cited in the *Leader* of the Roman princess who sat naked to

Canova I do not consider strictly analogous; still, if it may be used as an illustration of what I have now advanced, it may be remarked that many Roman ladies, her contemporaries, would no doubt have declined such an ordeal; and which, if no proof of their superior delicacy or purity, would at least prove their superiority in point of moral hardihood. Some minds live and thrive upon excitement and stimulants, others must be content with more homely fare; or, as the old proverb hath it, "one man's meat is another man's poison." I think there is nothing of casuistry or hair-splitting in this.

"But if it be true, as asserted by the critic, that (5) poetry and art consecrate anything and everything to which they choose to give expression and embodiment—and, stripped of technical verbiage, this I think is the sum of what he has enunciated—then we may cease to wonder that those who subscribe to such a doctrine should not be very squeamish as to what is set before them, or at the occasional aberrations of unfledged authorship. Upon the same principle (6) your Newcastle correspondent might introduce the poet, and invite him to recite his amours in his family circle; I do not see any difference. Then, the poet emboldened by critical sanction, might try how far the principle would stretch; only let him avoid being dull, prosaic, or ambiguous—the more intense and unspoken the better. Moreover (7), if the *furor amoris* may be sublimised by being taken out of the hands of the vulgar, why might not the artist evolve his conceptions in giving permanence even to the most tumultuous ebullitions of appetite? The whole might be tested as to its applicability to the literature and art of this country, according to many examples, ancient and modern. Our neighbours across the channel, to compensate perhaps for their want of political freedom and stability, are accustomed to a good deal of license in many other matters. But then, and probably as a necessary consequence, the melancholy fact is, that 'French society is corrupt, it is rotten to the core; this is the cry of the Government organs, and it is perfectly true.'\* Is it desirable that it should be so here? W. M."

We will endeavour to dispose of this question once for all. The capital distinction between W. M. and ourselves is, that he regards Passion as an "animalism" to be repressed, or at any rate to be indulged in sorrow and shame, as something pleasant but degrading; whereas we look on it as one of the great energetic instincts given us by God, and sacred in all healthy minds; we say with the old dramatist:—

"The motions which it feels  
Are fury, rapture, ecstasy, and such  
As thrust it out, full of instinct and deity,  
To meet what it desires."

For the sake of brevity we have numbered the positions in W. M.'s letter. If you will refer to 2, 3, and 4, you will observe that he argues upon the implied assumption that the *furor amoris* is in itself morally faulty, licentious, and defiling. Between persons who so radically disagree there can be no final agreement; but we will reply to W. M.'s letter nevertheless.

No. 1. *Furor amoris* is, of course, liable to excess, and its excess is "animalism" in the degrading sense of the word; but we cannot for a moment admit that Mr. SMITH's sonnet deserved such an epithet. Nos. 2, 3, 5, 7. The position maintained by us is, not that Art can consecrate anything and everything, but that everything it chooses to express it may lawfully express. The reserve implied in choice relates to the very nature of Art as Art. It could not choose "animalism," or it would cease to be Art. And for this reason: There are many things perfectly natural, yet interdicted from the domain of Art, simply because they are in themselves incapable of exciting the emotions from which Art springs. Art does not appeal to Sensations, but to the Emotions through Sensations; any object that excites the Sensation without bringing a subsequent activity of the Emotions is, from its very nature, excluded from Art (except as an accessory). This is the reason why the poet may not express the most "tumultuous ebullitions of appetite (7)," and why he may express the most tumultuous ebullitions of passion. With the latter are associated the emotions of tenderness, of reverence, of clinging devotion, of divine rapture; and it is these

\* Vide the *Leader's* "Own Correspondent," in a recent number.



emotional-spiritual-conditions which give to Art its sanctity and charm.

"Oh," says W. M. (6), "you might upon the same principle invite the poet to recite his amours to your family circle." No; he might read to us the poem of his amours, but not relate the prose details. You "do not see any difference?" We may, perhaps, succeed in proving that there is one, and an important one. By sublimating prose reality into poetry, he removes it from that region where our thoughts would naturally wander into tracks by common consent enclosed; he aims at exciting the purest emotions, and to effect this he removes the subject from the contact with vulgar realities—he isolates the emotion, so to speak—and attunes your mind by various artifices of beauty, music, metaphor, and remoteness of scenery and language. Take an illustration from Tragedy. It is evident that you could not, without agony, witness or hear narrated a real tragedy, yet you witness with pleasure a tragedy performed. What is the difference? The difference between Art and Reality. Thus it is that modest women read without a blush—or without even the thought of blushing, till some modest man tells them they ought to blush—poems, the prose translation of which no one would think of laying before them; and whoever does not understand the reason of this difference may pride himself upon being supremely ignorant of Art.

#### STEPHEN'S PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY.

*Lectures on the History of France.* By the Right Honourable Sir James Stephen, K.C.B. 3 vols. Longman and Co.

We have delayed our notice of these volumes so long, that other critics have now informed the public of their general nature, and relieved us from that duty. We purpose, therefore, on the present occasion, to examine certain opinions thrown out in the course of these lectures, and, instead of reviewing the book, to review Sir James Stephen's theory of History, particularly in reference to Auguste Comte.

"There is a special Providence in the fall of a sparrow." It may be so; but we contend that such a mode of interpreting history is not simply unphilosophical, it is derogatory to the dignity of Providence. We contend that the notion of Providence interfering in the natural issue of human affairs is a theological notion, which, though it still lingers, must finally follow the old notion of interference in the processes of Nature. It was once thought that every tempest was the wrath of a deity. It was thought that an eclipse boded some such darkening wrath of a divine power, even long after men had ceased to regard the tempest as anything more than a natural phenomenon. In the camp of Agamemnon an epidemic breaks out. The men die by scores. The terrified army at once attributes it to the clanging of the silver bow of the wrathful Apollo, who thus avenges the insult to his priest. What is to be done? Modern Science, with a Sanitary Commission at hand, would have a ready answer; ancient theology sees only one resource—expiatory peace-offerings to the irritated god! You smile at this theology of an unenlightened pagan: it is absurd, is it not? Yet having smiled, look at home, and see whether theology be not everywhere the same in spirit! In spite of modern science, and our scorn of the Greeks, do we not find learned and able men attributing the cholera to God's anger at having endowed the Colleges of Maynooth—and at the wrath of the Deity because the current coin of the realm wanted certain respectful letters? So perilous a thing is scorn!

History speaks, with unequivocal distinctness, this sentence: As the theological notions of Providential interference in natural processes have passed away, and only now remain among vulgar errors, so gradually passes away the notion of Providential interference in the development of human History. If no sparrow falls without a special Providence, every one can draw this conclusion, viz., that the Providence which is omnipresent cannot be cited for special occasions: Providence must then bear the burden of all that is bad, weak, villainous, and foolish, in human affairs—a conclusion repugnant to every understanding. If, relinquishing the notion of omnipresent interference, we throw ourselves upon the "great events of history," in which the "finger of God" is said to be visible, what are we doing but imitating our forefathers, who, when they ceased to

consider the storm as more than a natural phenomenon, still considered the comet and eclipse as divine portents? The miracle of Healing has disappeared from our Liturgy since the beginning of the last century; but it was formerly an important part of the service; and why is it rejected now? Because men have learned somewhat more of the conditions of organic beings, and dare not attempt to delude themselves with such miracles; nor dare they put up prayers for rain, let the farmer be never so anxious!

The conviction forced upon men's minds by the spread of scientific views is, that special interferences of Providence are not in harmony with the noblest conception of Religion or of Science. It is Auguste Comte's great merit to have systematized the scientific ideas of our age, and to have extended them beyond the old domain of science into that of morals, politics, and history. Inasmuch as our social phenomena, however complex, are produced by natural causes—inasmuch as they themselves are subject to laws no less rigorous than the laws of the material world—a science is possible; but before a positive science can be established, all theological and metaphysical conceptions must be rooted out of it. "The Hand of God in History," therefore, becomes a conception as inadmissible as that of the Portents of Eclipses—the Divine Wrath of Pestilences.

It is against the scientific theory of History that Sir James Stephen raises his voice. We have an unfeigned respect for Sir James. His learning, his acumen, his imagination, his style, his deep religious fervour, and admirable candour, make him an adversary of whom we must always speak with esteem. But—and he will perhaps consider it a compliment—he has not a scientific intellect. The bias, no less than the temperament, of his mind is theological. His writings afford abundant proof; if they did not, this passage would suffice:—

"First, then, one is constrained to marvel at the zeal which celebrates the discovery of that system in such lavish terms of applause. Instead of being inclosed within the royal domain of science for the use and glory of a little knot of philosophers, might it not as well have been left, where assuredly it was found, in the open fields of speculation, for the behoof of all who have right of common there? There were brave men before Agamemnon; and a countless host of 'thinkers' about history were making use of the 'concrete deductive method' before the appearance of M. Comte to inculcate, or of Mr. Mill to explain, the practice of it. We have not far to look for examples. Open any speculative treatise on government, from the days of Aristotle to those of Montesquieu, and you will find innumerable instances of that modest wisdom which advises the adaptation of the measures of the lawgiver to the general tendencies of human motives, and which suggests a careful inquiry into the actual coincidence of the theory and the result. Take down any one at hazard of the ponderous volumes of our statutes at large, and you will find our English legislators declaring it expedient to frame one enactment after another, by each of which they at least designed to introduce such innovations as, according to the supposed tendencies of men's nature, would, as they believed, produce beneficial effects on the social state of the people of England. Nay, in many of those statutes, our Parliament (speaking prose without being aware of it) made the operation of the new law temporary and experimental, that, before they advanced further, they might see how far there was any real 'consilience' between their expectation and the event. It is one thing to interpret, another to invent. He who first interpreted the law according to which arches sustain a vast superincumbent weight, did good service; but he was not the inventor of the arch. That praise belonged to the stonemason. M. Comte may be the first didactic writer about the 'positive'; but it was among the most established of all intellectual crafts long before he arose to take his seat on the dialectic throne."

This argument is very like the one employed by his friend Macaulay on a similar occasion—the question of Bacon's method. We cannot pause to refute it. We are content to leave it with those who think that Bacon's method was really of no importance.

Sir James, in his remarks on Comte, Mill, and Grote, has one really strong position, and we display it. He is a theologian and an orthodox Christian. He reposes on his creed. Instead of referring all social phenomena to social laws, he refers "the great number and more important of these phenomena, not to the action of outward circumstances, but to the antagonistic influences of those two internal principles to which theology gives the names of Natural Corruption and of Divine Grace." He complains, and justly, that inasmuch as Christianity claims to answer

many of the most intricate inquiries, it should not be passed over in silence by the Sociologists. They should say at once that they do not believe in Christianity. Sir James is right. They should say so. If he had read Comte, he would know that nothing can be more emphatic than his denial of Christianity; but Mill and Grote keep timid silence: more's the pity!—it being the duty, we believe, of all eminent men to refuse to sanction with the weight of their authority (as by silence they do in some sense sanction it) a creed which they believe to be erroneous. Sir James has this elevated passage, which we commend to the attention of all, especially the bigoted opponents of free thought:—

"I anticipate the answer. No man is really free amongst us to avow his disbelief of the religion of his age and country; nay, hardly of any one of the commonly received articles of it. With whatever seriousness, decorum, and integrity of purpose, such an avowal may be made, he who makes it must sustain the full force of all those penalties, civil and social, which more or less attend upon all dissent, or supposed dissent, from the recognized standard of orthodoxy. I acknowledge and lament that this is so. I think that they who inflict such penalties are entitled to no praise and to no gratitude. They give to disbelief a motive and an apology for a dishonest self-concealment. They give to the believing a painful mistrust that there may possibly be existing, and yet concealed, some potent reasons, which, if men could speak their minds with real impunity, would be alleged against their own most cherished convictions. No infidel ever did, or can do, so much prejudice to our faith as has been done by those zealous adherents of it who labour so strenuously, and so often with such unfortunate success, to terrify all objectors into silence. The early Christians were but too successful in destroying all the writings of the early infidels. Yet, for the confirmation of our faith in the present age, a complete copy of Celsus would be of far more value than the whole of the volumes of Origen."

As a fitting companion to this passage we quote another, wherein Sir James prefaces his dissent from the school of Comte—a lesson to flippant critics playing with great names:—

"Now, although the superciliousness of men of genius may occasionally expose them to some dislike, they are always safe from retaliation. No man unarmed with the triple brass of ignorance, of presumption, and of self-conceit, would suppose himself entitled to speak, or to think, lightly of a science invented by M. Comte, expounded by Mr. Mill, and adopted and illustrated by Mr. Grote. It is with profound respect for those great names, and with a corresponding anxiety for my own credit in dissenting from them, that I request your attention to the motives which have forbidden me to enlist under their banners."

The strong position occupied by Sir James Stephen is the Bible. If you believe in the Bible, you cannot avoid the belief of particular interferences of Providence to bring about certain results. If you do not believe in the Bible, you should say so. We wish the ground could always be thus narrowed, and the Bible be fairly fronted by science—the victor to be crowned with something pleasanter than thorns! Meanwhile the world must struggle on through incessant compromises, vanishing superstitions, steady advance of scientific conceptions replacing those superstitions, and endless heart-burnings on all sides. This, however, we will say—and our testimony can hardly be suspected as partial—that in the coming conflicts of opinion a few such elevated, generous minds as Sir James Stephen—candid to opponents, while steadfast in his own views—will do more than anything else to allay the heat of passionate antagonism, and clear the arena for more equal combat.

#### WHATELEY ON THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

*A Selection of English Synonyms.* The Second Edition, Revised and Enlarged. J. W. Parker.

THIS revised edition of Archbishop Whateley's admirable little work on English Synonyms enables us to repair an oversight, and to introduce it to our readers. All who appreciate the delicate delight of preserving our language from the incessant temptations of careless colloquialism and from the impetuous onslaughts of vulgarity and ignorance, will be thankful to the author of this volume for the care and discrimination he has bestowed on the nice distinctions of meaning lying in synonyms. The importance of preserving accuracy in language is only understood by those whose psychological studies have made them acquainted with the part played by language as itself an instrument of thought; and by those whose studies have lain

among *delicæ litterariæ*. To all we commend this volume. It may be read in an evening, and will afford matter for years of afterthought.

It is arranged in groups of Adverbs, Pronouns, and Particles; Verbs, Adjectives, Nouns. In the first group we have such words as *which* and *that*, *while* and *though*, discriminated. Among the verbs, we find such as—

"TO FUZZLE, PERPLEX, EMBARRASS.

"We are 'puzzled' when our intellectual faculties are confused, and we cannot comprehend what is proposed to us: we are 'perplexed' when the feelings and will are brought into play as well as the intellect, and we are at a loss what to decide or how to act. We are 'embarrassed' by some hindrance or difficulty which impedes our powers of thought, speech, or action. This need not necessarily be an intellectual hindrance; it is generally either of a kind which affects the feelings, as timidity or bashfulness, or a material obstacle which hampers us, such as an impediment in the speech. A schoolboy is 'puzzled' with a difficult sum: a riddle puzzles those who try to guess it; we are 'perplexed' by the subtleties of a casuist, or in the midst of conflicting opinions: a rustic is 'embarrassed' in the presence of his superiors, or a traveller when trying to speak a foreign language he knows but imperfectly. It is the characteristic of embarrassment to take away our presence of mind."

"TO DISTINGUISH, DISCRIMINATE.

"To distinguish' is merely to mark broad and obvious differences; 'to discriminate' is to notice minutely and more subtle differences. The generality of people can 'distinguish' colour; but many who possess the faculty to a certain point do not readily 'discriminate' between the nicer shades. An ignorant man can distinguish a rose from a lily: only a botanist can discriminate between the varieties most closely allied and nearly resembling. The faculty of distinguishing belongs to every one whose intellect is above that of a child or a brute: it is only those who are skilled or well informed in any particular department who can discriminate clearly."

The great difficulties to foreigners, Scotchmen, and Irishmen, of "shall" and "will," are thus cleared up:—

"These two verbs have undergone curious alterations. In very old English, 'shall' indicated simple futurity, and 'will' intention."

"At the time our Bible translation was made, the language in this respect was in a state of transition; in some cases, the two verbs were used in the old sense, while in others they were applied nearly in our modern acceptation. For instance: in 2 Kings, we read, 'Ahab shall slay me,' and in Galatians v., 'Walk in the spirit and ye shall not fulfil the lusts of the flesh.'"

"In both these sentences, 'will' would be used in modern English; and in many others a misapprehension of the real meaning of the sacred writers is induced by a forgetfulness of this difference. But then, again, in John xvi. 2, we have, 'Whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service': 'will' is here employed exactly as it would be in modern English."

"It is difficult to define intelligibly to a foreigner the modern use of these two words, though throughout the whole of England no misuse of them can be observed, even among the lowest of the people. But in Ireland they are constantly reversed, and in Scotland 'will' is used improperly, though 'shall' is not."

"In our modern use of these verbs, we have curiously divided the persons of each. 'I will, you shall, he shall,' denotes a futurity connected with the will of the speaker: while, 'I shall, you will, he will,' implies a futurity unconnected with the speaker's resolve. For instance, we should say, 'I will go, you shall go, he shall go'—but 'I shall die, you will die, he will die.'"

"We always say, 'I shall attain such an age next birthday': if 'will' were substituted, it would imply a power of voluntarily determining our age. 'You shall have some money to-morrow' implies 'I will procure it for you.' 'You will have it,' indicates an expectation quite independent of the speaker's intentions. When, however, *will* is emphatic, so that one would write it underscored, or in italics, as denoting resolute determination, it has the same sense in all three persons; as, for instance,—'I [or you, or he] will take this course whatever may be said to the contrary.' The opposite to 'will' in this sense, is, not 'shall,' but 'must'; as, 'I [or you, or he] must submit to this, however unwillingly.'"

"There are some cases in which either 'shall' or 'will' might be used, but in which the meaning would be modified according to the word employed. In answering a request, 'I will' indicates compliance; 'I shall' would convey an intention of doing the thing asked, quite independently of any wish to gratify the asker. 'I shall go,' indicates simple futurity—'I will go,' both futurity and a determined intention. 'I shall go,' in a case where we are determined, expresses therefore less than we mean: and we sometimes use this form of understating our meaning—or what the Greeks called

*Eironia*—to express very strong resolution. Hence the common expressions, 'I shall do no such thing,' 'He won't make me do [so], which are often used to convey the strongest idea of determination, and, therefore, at first sight, appear exceptions to the rules here laid down."

Here is a group of words in constant use:—

"SILLY, FOOLISH, ABSURD, WEAK, STUPID, SIMPLE, DULL.

"Silly' is most commonly applied to words, writings, manners, or character; 'foolish' to actions. We speak of a 'silly' book, a 'silly' speech, a 'silly' manner; but seldom of taking a 'silly' step, committing a 'silly' action; in these last cases, we use the word 'foolish.' 'Silly' very frequently, though not always, implies deficiency of intellect or feebleness of character; 'foolish,' an abuse of intellect. A 'foolish' man is one who does not make use of the sense he possesses. More of blame is implied in the word 'foolish'; more of contempt in 'silly.'"

"Weak' implies some moral deficiency; a weak man is one who either wants sufficient firmness to maintain his principles, or wants clearness of moral sense to perceive distinctly what is right."

"Absurd,' applied to an action, implies something laughable. An absurd person is one who commits ridiculous acts of folly."

"Stupid' is used merely to express a lumpish, heavy, cloudy perception of everything, proceeding from a want of intellect. It is entirely a negative quality."

"Dull' is not quite the same; it implies slowness, but not necessarily deficiency of intellect. A boy who is slow and dull in learning may, nevertheless, be not wanting in sense, and may be able to understand a subject well, when once he has mastered its difficulties."

"Simple,' when it is applied to an act of folly, implies a want of quicksightedness—of what the French call *savoir faire*, springing either from natural deficiency or want of experience. The French *bonhomie* and the Greek *Euthes* are used to signify the same thing."

We have said enough and cited enough to pique curiosity, and with that we leave the book; adding, that although we consider it very ingenious and often indisputable, there are, nevertheless, many pages we should question, were we not restricted in our space.

#### PATHWAY OF THE FAWN.

*The Pathway of the Fawn. A Tale of the New Year.* By Mrs. T. K. Hervey. Office of the National Illustrated Library.

THE charmed reader of this book had better yield himself unhesitatingly to its influence, without suffering criticism to interfere, for it is a book which has an undefinable "something" we cannot resist, though we feel that it will not bear analytical criticism. The story is not probable; the characters have an ideal turn which aids the sense of remoteness suggested by story, scene, and treatment. Yet there is a "keeping" and poetical congruity about them which arrest attention, and act like a charm. The truth is, although written in prose, the book must be regarded somewhat in the light of a poem. The conception is poetical, the treatment poetical, the language—and that is a fault—often rises into the rhythm of verse, as if its tendency to quit the unsymmetrical restraints of prose were irresistible. In fact, we wish Mrs. Hervey had given way to the poetic impulse, and thrown prose aside altogether. Why not tell the story in verse, when verse would better tell the story?

Mrs. Hervey's purpose—i. e., the moral underlying her romantic story—seems to be this:—However vicious impulses of Self may distort our actions, there lives for ever within us a godlike principle of rectification—a Conscience, which may be reached through the mysterious avenues of the affections, and one way of passing through these avenues is by Art.

Wilhelm von Fern has caused his brother's death, and dispossessed the widow's son of the inheritance by bringing up his daughter as a boy. She (the supposed boy) discovers her relations, learns the truth of the whole story, and flies from home, moved by the hope of bringing her father back from the criminal path he has entered on. Her cousin, the Sculptor, teaches her his Art, and with this power she sets to work. Into her father's gallery she conveys the marble images of his victims:—

"The solitary man within looked drearily round. It seemed, indeed, as if each several statue were once again endued with life, as the gliding shadows swept the pedestal's foot, crept over the plinth, flowed along the room, noiseless as air. But the thought disturbed him no more. Imagination was dead; life a blank. Phantoms might come and go, now. His

soul could be darkened by no shadow, for in it there was no more light! Absorbed by his reveries, he saw not the figure of Bertha, as, opening the door noiselessly, she stole into the room, taking her place among the sculptures. Neither did he discern the forms of Ernst and Johanna, standing dark within the doorway. Stricken as he seemed in soul and sense, in life and reason, how the heart of his child throbbed as she gazed upon him! Dreading a too sudden recognition, she yet longed to throw herself at his feet. Powerless to move, she became almost as rigid as the marble forms by which she was surrounded. She fixed her eyes upon his face, striving to draw from him one encouraging look. In vain. He looked up, but only took her for another phantom—one vision the more of all that had long haunted him in the dim chamber of his unrest. Seated in that antique chair, behold him once again. Back through the silent years his visions bear him on. Gentler visions are they to-night, tender and less terrible! Around that very chair, in days gone by, a child—a sprite—a fairy form, bright as the morn and sinless as the day—sporting beneath his eye. He sees it now as then he saw it, but it eludes his grasp. He sinks back powerless. It is gone! His arm hangs listlessly over the chair. Suddenly he feels his fingers caught. On their enclosed palm soft kisses are pressed. Climbing his knee, light limbs spring upward with a bound, and rounded arms are circling his neck. Childhood's lips are pressed to his; oh, breath than violets sweeter! The rack that rides his heart moves his uneasy limbs. He rocks to and fro, and the antique chair creaks with the crazy motion. No rest—no rest! The action renews the dream. The clinging arms relax. It is childhood's hour of sleep. The fragile form his stronger arms entwine; the little weary head falls sideways on his neck; the azure eyes are veiled beneath their drowsy lids. Motherless, but not forlorn, she sleeps, upon his bosom sleeps; and, beating time with rocking bound, he sings a low, wild nursery song, to the music of his heart and hers! Oh, days for ever gone! Beside an airy lute he sees her next, wearing the day down with the twilight of sweet song—some melody mournful as the dying day. He knows youth's passion for the sorrowful, and smiles. Her beaming glance meets his. His smile is multiplied on her sweet cheek; eye, mouth, and dimpled cheek, are running o'er with mirth. Her ringing laugh sounds like merry bells in breezeless evening hour—no sigh to steal its sweetness from the ear. Oh, music hushed for aye! He hears with sense half dead; he sees, and yet sees not. His retrospective spirit passes into the dim eclipse of time, and discerns not clearly the blank, cheerless now. The sun of his past days, half veiled, throws but a dreary light on all that is; but he knows that none save phantoms are around him; he feels he is alone. Whence, then, the hand that closes round his own? Has one of the statues left its place, and, gliding to his chair, laid its stony hand in his? That was no marble touch—no clay-cold clasp! Is it some trick of memory that beguiles him? He cannot tell, for the darkness alike without and within him. A sigh! It can be but a fiction of the brain, like all the rest. Yet surely again there are shadows crossing to and fro, blending with the shadows of the marble, on the wall? He draws his hand away. The phantom—if phantom it be—will not be so rebuked. He feels his fingers drawn by magic, but not ungently force, between the warm and throbbing veins of something too like life. He starts! Is it gone? His eyes swim; he cannot see. He feels the pressure still! Agony of agonies! His child? She must be dead, and this her presence, in the semblance of quick life, come back to haunt, then spurn him. He turns aside. No respite! The fellow-hand is clasped; he is bound down and fettered on all sides. He strives to rise; a nightmare presses down his limbs. A sob, a stifled sob, a struggle of quick breath close to his ear—a voice of long ago—thrills in him! He lifts his eyes. What form is that he sees standing erect before him, like a seraph to lead to—not bar from—Paradise? What angel-hearted guest stands thus with mute and humble look before his face of guilt? Is it the guardian spirit of his child, or one he knew in his life-days, that are no more? Both! As he gazes on that placid brow, serene in holy youth, a strange dim retrospect is his. Again it is New Year's Eve. The swift mysterious rushing of the viewless wind is in his ear, as he heard it on that night in the hardness of his heart. The dead hush follows, and the beating pulse! The hour is to him as that hour. The cloud upon his brain has dimmed his sight; the shadows of the mind mingle with the shadows before him and around him—the unreal with the actual—all is clothed in mist, as a sea-foam! Another and another deeper sob, on either side! What dreadful doom awaits him? Terrible avengers!—yet they kneel! Dread messengers of wrath!—they weep! The spectral forms from which he shrinks—do they bear him on viewless wings to expiatory shades? See! the dreaded doom reversed! To his heart he bears them—on his breast! The only shriek that echoes to the roof is the shriek not of a lost, but of a recovered soul. It fills the air but with one tone, one pulse of unutterable joy—'Bertha!—Johanna!'

The outline we have given, together with the extract, will indicate pretty well the nature of Mrs.



Hervey's book, and explain, perhaps, what we mean when we say that it scarcely belongs to the realm of prose—the daylight of reality. The critic who should consider it as a prose fiction would make sad havoc with it, and a sad blunder.

The illustrations by Mr. Thomas are unequal. The landscapes are poetical, but the figures have a too theatrical air.

## PIUS THE NINTH.

*The History of the Pontificate of Pius the Ninth.* Including a Narrative of the Political Movements in Italy during the last Five Years. By E. B. Nicolini, of Rome. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter.

THIS work should be read by all who desire information regarding the causes and history of the late revolutions in Italy. Clearly and concisely written, it guides the reader through all the backward steps and windings of Pio Nono's faithless and unblest career, from the day when he was hailed as the hope and pillar of Italian liberty, till the period when French cannon cleared his way back to Rome. Signor Nicolini writes boldly and warmly, as an exiled patriot should, often attacking the advocates of absolutism and old abuses with the weapons of stubborn fact. Sometimes sketching the leading characters of his times and country like one familiar with their bearings; telling of all that was done, and hoped for, and suffered by his people; but speaking of himself so rarely and so modestly, that the man appears entirely submerged in the cause. That cause the author served in Senate, in diplomacy, and in hard fighting; and, carrying the same patriotic zeal into literature, he now attempts, what to many a foreigner would seem a more difficult task, namely, to address the British public in their own language on behalf of Italy. That he has been singularly successful in this attempt will be acknowledged by all who peruse his volume; and he sets out with the following frank and brave declaration:—

"I do not covet praise as an elegant writer, or even as an amusing storyteller. I place all my glory in veracity. Of almost all the events which I relate I have been an eye-witness; with the greater number of those who took a prominent part in the first agitation for reform, and in the subsequent more serious struggles, I am personally acquainted, so that I have not asserted anything of which I am not absolutely certain, or the truth of which I am not prepared to maintain against all impugnors."

Among many curious particulars of the private life and character of Pius which are given in the course of the work, we are presented with what seems a solution of the Pope's incoherent policy:—

"Personally he was averse to every kind of tyranny and despotism, and inclined to grant some reforms; but the more cunning among the Cardinals and Prelates, without openly opposing his wishes, insinuated into his timid and superstitious mind the idea that by allowing any layman to enter his councils, and by divesting the Church of any of her privileges, he would be little better than an heretic; hence his vacillation. Count Joseph, the Pope's own brother, who had been an exile, and was a patriot, conversing upon our hopes and fears with the author of this work, said:—'I am afraid they will work upon his feeble and timorous conscience; if they can persuade him it is a sin to concede any reform, we are lost.'"

To the courage, the honesty, and the enlightenment of the Italian patriots, Signor Nicolini bears ample and most unvarnished testimony; as well as to the perfidy and injustice by which they were surrounded and eventually crushed. Both are now matter of history; but his closing words, in a passage descriptive of the defence of Rome, has the power and promise of Italy's future in it:—

"O glorious Rome! O my noble country! When I remember thy heroic deeds, the joyful readiness with which thou didst sacrifice thy children to achieve thy liberty, hope lends me patience to endure the longing and misery of exile. Such a people cannot long remain under the ignominious yoke of foreigners and priests."

## BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

*A Ride over the Rocky Mountains to Oregon and California; with a Glance at some of the Tropical Islands.* By the Honourable Henry J. Cooke. Bentley.

*Lessons from the Note Book of a Naturalist.* By W. J. Broderip, F.R.S. J. W. Parker.

*The Two Families; an Episode in the History of Chappelton.* By the Author of "Rose Douglas." 2 vols. Smith and Elder.

*Life and Letters of Judge Story.* Edited by his Son, W. Story. 2 vols. John Chapman.

*Michael Angelo considered as a Philosophic Poet.* With Translations by John Edward Taylor. John Murray.

A second edition of a learned and elegant little book.

*The Life of Washington.* Written by Himself. Comprising his Memoirs and Correspondence, including several Original Letters now first printed. Edited by the Reverend W. C. Upham. Two vols. Office of the National Illustrated Library.

The biography of Washington has been often written, never satisfactorily. Perhaps Guizot's essay remains the best sketch after all. The present work is one which to English readers will be peculiarly valuable, as embodying the most important of the passages from Washington's own journal and correspondence—a plan which has its merits, though it eludes the biographical difficulty. An appendix is added, with a copious index, and a glossary of such words as may not easily be understood by the young reader. When we mention that such words as bailiff, cabinet, envoy, net profit, finesse, in statu quo, refugee, and surplus, are on the list, you can imagine it is meant for very young readers. The book is a handsome, creditable publication, and forms one of the works issued by the proprietors of the *London Illustrated News*.

*The Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England, adapted for General Use in other Protestant Churches.* Pickering.

The "Book of Common Prayer" was issued in the reign of Edward VI., 1549. A revision of it appeared in 1552. A third "improvement" was sanctioned in 1559, in the reign of Elizabeth. A fourth revision, under James, was issued in 1604. Charles I. commanded a fifth revision in 1637. Charles II. a sixth, which he considered a "settled" one, in 1662. During the succeeding period of nearly two hundred years no "improvement" has been permitted. The experiment in this direction now before us—certainly wanted—appears to be executed considerably. We regret the attempt is anonymous.

## Portfolio.

## AQUINAS.

All day Aquinas sat alone,  
Comprest he sat and spake no word,  
As still as any man of stone,  
In streets where never voice was heard;  
With maniac front and air antique  
He sat, did neither move nor speak,  
For thought like his seem'd words too weak.

The shadows brown about him lay;  
From sunrise till the sun went out,  
Had sat alone that man of grey,  
That marble man, hard cramp'd by doubt,  
Some kingly problem had he found,  
Some new belief not wholly sound.  
Some hope that overleapt all bound.

All day Aquinas sat alone,  
No answer to his question came,  
And now he rose with hollow groan,  
And eyes that seem'd half love, half flame.  
On the bare floor he flung him down  
Pale marble face, half smile, half frown,  
Brown shadow else 'mid shadows brown.

"O God," he said, "it cannot be,  
Thy morning star with endless moan  
Should lift his fading orbs to Thee,  
And Thou be happy on Thy throne.  
It were not kind, nay, Father, nay,  
It were not just, O God, I say;  
Pray for the devil, Jesus, pray!"

"How can thy kingdom ever come  
While the fair angels howl below?  
All holy voices would be dumb,  
All loving eyes would fill with woe  
To think the lordliest Peer of Heaven,  
The starry leader of the seven,  
Would never, never, be forgiven."

"Pray for the devil, Jesus, pray,  
O word that made thine angel speak!  
Lord! let thy pitying tears have way,  
Dear God! not man alone is weak,  
What is created still must fall,  
And fairest still we frailest call,  
Will not Christ's blood avail for all?"

"Pray for the devil, Jesus, pray,  
O Father think upon thy child;  
Turn from thy own bright world away  
And look upon that dungeon wild,  
O God! O Jesus! see how dark  
That den of woe, O Saviour mark  
How angels weep, how groan, Hark, hark!"

"He will not, will not do it more:  
Restore him to his throne again,  
Oh open wide that dismal door  
Which presses on the souls in pain;  
So men and angels all will say  
Our God is good. Oh day by day  
Pray for the devil, Jesus, pray."

All night Aquinas knelt alone,  
Alone with black and dreadful Night,  
Until before his pleading moan  
The darkness ebb'd away in light,  
Then rose the saint and "God," said he,  
"If darkness change to light with thee,  
The devil may yet an angel be."

M.

## The Arts.

## THE MARIONNETTES.

According to promise, I went the other night to the Marionette Theatre, and was not surprised to find a crowded and intellectual audience there. Jones will, of course, think such an entertainment "very frivolous;" Smith will sneer at the idea of grave men sitting out a performance of the kind; Brown and Robinson will "wonder at me" for being amused. Frivolous? That depends upon the mind which thinks it so? "There's nothing grave or gay but thinking makes it so." I could show you, were my mood cynical, the nothingness of Life itself, and write a tremendous tirade on the Frivolity of the Universe! I could prove, by arguments which would perplex Archbishop Whateley, that the ancient King, whose passion for Marionettes, Diodorus Siculus tells us, made him neglect all state affairs, was, after all, not a greater ass than kings are allowed to be. Puppets moved by wires—are they not satires, and symbols? Frivolous, indeed! I assure you there is profound meaning in these Marionettes, and I advise you to find it out.

To begin. What are Puppets? You will stare, perhaps, when I tell you that they are *vulgarized gods*. Yes, gods; nothing less! The symbolical instinct which we see active in childhood—and the childhood of nations—wrought, for its satisfaction, rude images or symbols of the Powers which transcended sense. The Idol of the savage was at first a hideous caricature of the human form; in time it lost somewhat of this hideousness; until we see it, in Greek sculpture, surpassing humanity by its beauty. Before it reached this perfection of form there were rude attempts to give it the symbol of life and power—Motion. The History of Idolatry is crowded with curious illustrations of the use made by priests of moving Idols.

But how, you will ask, do I connect these Idols with the playthings of children—how make the descent from Gods to Puppets? To trace this descent would be a longer story than these columns can contain; but I will take the shorter route of analogy. You know that the Drama was everywhere, in its origin, a solemn religious festival; you know that it set forth the story of Christ's Passion or Temptation, as in early Greece it had set forth the episodes of Bacchus's career; you know that it was originally performed by priests, in churches, as supplementary church service. Having recalled these facts, let me ask you whether there can be greater difficulty in tracing the Marionettes from Idols than in tracing our modern farces and burlesques from Mysteries and Moralities? In each case the process has been one of vulgarization—the religious element has been gradually replaced by the human element; till not only has the interest become wholly human, but has descended from the heights of tragedy and comedy to "fast" farce!

The passion for Marionettes has been universal. The Greeks and Italians—our masters in all Art—seem to have thrown themselves into this amusement with a deliberate energy which would amaze the sneering Jones. If we are to trust to a passage in Homer, several passages in Athenæus, and the description of the figure introduced at the famous (and tiresome) supper of Trimaleion, celebrated in the *Satyricon* of that dissolute delight of bishops and professors, Petronius Arbitrator, they must have carried these things in Greece and Rome to a perfection unapproached and unattempted by moderns. I could write a whole feuilleton about the *ἀγῶματα κρυπταῖα*, or "thread-moved images," but Jones would call me pedantic as well as frivolous, and would hate me for the Greek he doesn't understand! I could tell him how Plato and Aristotle, generally considered as "perfectly respectable" authorities, did not disdain these puppets, and that Goethe was from infancy to old age their constant patron. I could tell him how the learned Jesuit Lupi spent many years of his life in researches for his dissertation *Sopra i burattini degli antichi*; and I could tell him how grave politicians, novelists of genius, statistical writers of terrific tabular force, critics of sceptical and blasé tempers, and children of all ages, have sat out these performances at the Adelaide Gallery with unfeigned and unshamed delight.

These puppets are two feet and a half in height, well proportioned, splendidly dressed, and immensely absurd. They walk (*such walking!*), they dance, they sit, they sing, they *gastulate* (as a re.

lative of Mrs. Malaprop once said, with a charming perception of the niceties of the English language—*puri sermonis amator!*), they declaim, and comport themselves like very accomplished puppets indeed. The stage and scenery are elegant and well proportioned. Their dancing is something marvellous, and their *gastulation* (I can't give up the word) is very funny. But I will suggest to the manager that Burlesque is not the kind of piece to be played. The more in earnest the puppets are, the greater is the fun. Let them, therefore, dash at bloody Melodrame and stirring incidents: the burlesque will issue therefrom spontaneously. Moreover, even granting *Bombastes Furioso* to be a fitting piece for the puppets, the actors who speak the words happen to have no faculty for Burlesque recitation. The consequence is, that *Bombastes* is the least amusing part of the entertainment. *The Manager's Room* was more to the purpose, and parts of the *Ballet* were perfect.

The success of this experiment cannot be doubted; but there is a "success" in theatrical life which is very singular indeed; and it is such success I have to record as achieved at

#### DREARY LANE,

where, the advertisements tell me, the box office is kept open an hour later "owing to the state of iege" to secure places; and, nevertheless, the pieces which excite this delirium of theatrical enjoyment are withdrawn! "Unparalleled attractions," "complete overflows," and box office in a "state of siege"—all the blazing triumph of success—a plethora in the treasury—audience packed like herrings; and yet the "enterprising manager" withdraws these "attractions," and, with lavish prodigality of invention and spirit, announces two novelties—*Fra Diavolo* and *Der Freischütz*!

Certainly, of all superstitions, the belief in the managerial tact and talent of Mr. Bunn is the most extraordinary! His only title is the magnitude and constancy of his failures. As some men flourish upon bankruptcy, and build a fortune out of ruins, so his reputation rises colossal upon the pedestal of gigantic failure! He has failed so utterly, so unredemptedly, that his shadow has darkened the theatrical mind till it becomes a dominant superstition to look towards him—in vague terror and uneasy hope—as the man for great enterprise! As far as aimless snatching at all kinds of "attraction"—from Shakspeare to Murphy, the weather prophet—from Malibran to the Lions of Mysore—as far as this can be called enterprise, Mr. Bunn is the man. But what has been the issue of it all? And now that he is reinstated on the throne of his many defeats, what evidence of any kind has he given to sustain the belief in his tact and talent?

A witty friend of mine, reading Mr. Bunn's playbills over my shrugged shoulders, remarked, "Bunn is the theatrical Rip van Winkle: he has been asleep for twenty years, and now awaking, believes he can dazzle the public with the same things that were threadbare when he fell asleep." It is very true; and I could not help pointing with grim scorn to the announcement of *Fra Diavolo* in confirmation. There's enterprise for you! There's spirit! There's tact! There's novelty! *Fra Diavolo*—the least known of operas! *Der Freischütz*—the startling novelty! This is what it is to have vast "experience" and the "tact" which is almost genius!

Next week I will tell you how *Fra Diavolo* was performed, unless the success is so brilliant that it "must be withdrawn" for something else! Meanwhile, let me invite you to visit the

#### LONDON THURSDAY CONCERTS,

where the Madrigal Choir alone is sufficient to call the most domestic from their firesides. There, also, you will have the potent-fingered Miss Goddard, a pianist of the pounding order, but greatly beloved by the audience; also the Hungarian Székely, a player of "mark and likelihood." The band of the First Life Guards, under the direction of Mr. Wardell, is there—not exactly its fitting place; and Mr. Swift, the new tenor, is gradually winning for himself a recognition. If the *London Thursday Concerts* would only shorten the programme and resist encores, they would be very agreeable entertainments.

#### OLYMPIC.

Compton in the new farce, *An Organic Affection*, is very amusing; his excitable manner, his absurd tremors, alternating with effervescent animation, and the humorous expression of his face and voice, serve to carry through the piece, which is whimsical, but slight.

VIVIAN.



#### Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. It, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

#### INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCE IN IRELAND.

Seville Works, Dublin, January 13, 1852.

SIR,—We have in this city a prosperous and popular society, called the Board of Manufacture and Industry, the members of which appear to be not only talking, but doing. They have invited a "Meeting for Consultation," to be composed of some of the best and most influential men from all parts of Ireland, and to assemble the last week of this month, for the following among other purposes:—

1. To adopt measures for converting the workhouses into self-sustaining establishments.
2. For extending the means of education, and directing its chief force to industrial instruction in all places, whether colleges, schools, prisons, or poorhouses.
3. For organizing an extensive and available system of banking and currency, to represent the labour of the people.
4. For taking steps to remove the duty off paper, off newspapers, and off all agencies for disseminating knowledge.

My object in now addressing you is to draw attention to the "Suggestive Report" of the council of this society on the subject of education, which seems to me so good as to deserve a wide dissemination.

Yours respectfully, WILLIAM PARE.

#### LIFE-OFFICER AT SEA.

Cleveland, Bristol, January 20, 1852.

SIR,—The great loss of life attending the destruction of the Amazon, and many other steamboats and sailing vessels—with boats sufficient to have saved all—suggests that, in all ships having many individuals on board, an officer should be appointed, to be called the Life-officer; whose duty would be to see that the boats are always in trim for immediate use, and that everything essential to the safety of the crew and passengers be kept in repair and in place. When not employed in his peculiar office, of course, he could assist to navigate the ship.

The boats to be known either by numbers or letters; the crew to be divided into parties to man the boats; and a chosen seaman or officer appointed to command each party.

The boats should be constructed so that they could neither upset or sink. These objects, simple in themselves, could be managed without difficulty.

The bulkheads in all ships should be double, a few inches' space between each, water-tight, and made of iron.

There should be a connecting-rod between the throttle-valve and the deck, to allow the steam to be cut off from the cylinders of the engines at any moment; also another connecting-rod, with a cock fixed in the boiler side near its top, to throw the steam into the interior of the ship, which, with the hatches closed, would in all probability smother the fire.

In a notice on steamboats which I sent to the *London Mechanics' Magazine*, several years ago, I proposed that a Safety Steamboat Company should be established, whose vessels would be built and fitted in every way to insure safety to human life.

ARTHUR TREVELYAN.

GOD WILLS PAUPERISM.—These factions all assert that God is the author of pauperism: an assertion the Socialists consider blasphemy. M. Thiers, in his famous report on this subject, says:—"In the general plan of things, misery is the inevitable condition of the human race." The Bishop of Chartres, in his pastoral letter of March 12, 1851, says:—"But I am asked to explain that mysterious inequality which is nowadays such a cause of scandal, and which has always existed between the rich and the poor. Why, at least, not let fall on the poor a few rays of that sun which gives to all ease and comfort? . . . Why not? Because it is impossible. Yet that state of things is the work of ETERNAL WISDOM; we must justify it."—*Westminster Review*, No. 111.

#### HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

In the week ending last Saturday, 1096 deaths were registered in London. In ten corresponding weeks of the years 1842-51, the average was 1139, and if this be raised in proportion to the increase of population, it becomes 1253; compared with which the mortality of last week exhibits a decrease of 157. As compared with the results of the previous return (for the week ending January 10th), the present table shows a small improvement in the mortality from some epidemic diseases, from diseases of the respiratory organs, from diseases of the nervous system, and those of the digestive organs; while there is an increase in the tubercular class, and diseases of the heart.

#### Commercial Affairs.

#### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

Consols on Monday closed at 96½; on Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, at 96½. The closing price yesterday was—Consols, 96½.

The fluctuations have been:—Consols, from 96½ to 96½; Bank Stock, from 216 to 217; and Exchequer Bills, 56s. to 56s. premium.

In Foreign Stocks yesterday the bargains comprised—Brazilian, 94½; Chilean Six per Cents., 101½; the Three per Cents., 65; Danish Five per Cents., 103½; Ecuador, 3½ and 7; Mexican, for money, 30 and 29½; for the Account, 30, 30½, and 29; Peruvian Five per Cents., 94½; Portuguese Five per Cents., 90½ and 91; the Four per Cents., 34½ and 34; Sardinian Five per Cents., 90½; Spanish Five per Cents., 23½; Spanish Three per Cents., 41½; the new Deferred, 18½ and 1; Belgian Four-and-a-Half per Cents., 92 and 92½; Dutch Two-and-a-Half per Cents., 58½ and 58; and the Four per Cent. Certificates, 90½ and 91.

#### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mon.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock . . .	—	216½	—	216½	—	216½
3 per Ct. Red . .	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
3 p. C. Con. Ans.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. C. An. 1736.	—	96½	—	96½	—	96½
3 p. C. Con., Ac.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
34 p. Cent. An.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
New 5 per Cts.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Long Ans., 1860.	—	—	7	7	7	7
Ind. St. 104 p. Ct.	—	—	—	261	261	259½
Ditto Bonds . .	—	71 p	71 p	71 p	—	70
Ex. Bills, 1000l.	59 p	59 p	59 p	59 p	59 p	59 p
Ditto, 500l.	56 p	59 p	59 p	59 p	59 p	59 p
Ditto, Small . .	56 p	59 p	59 p	59 p	59 p	59 p

#### FOREIGN FUNDS.

(Last Official Quotation during the Week ending Friday Evening.)

Austrian 5 per Cents.	80	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	30
Belgian Bds., 44 p. Ct.	94	Neapolitan 5 per Cents.	—
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	95	Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	87½
Buenos Ayres 6 p. Cts.	45	Portuguese 5 per Cent.	92
Chilian 6 per Cents.	101	— 4 per Cts.	33½
Danish 5 per Cents.	103½	— Annuities . .	—
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	59½	Russian, 1852, 4½ p. Cts.	101
— 4 per Cents.	52	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts.	23½
Ecuador Bonds . .	3	— Passive . . .	54
French 5 p. Cts. at Paris 102.80	—	— Deferred . . .	18½
— 3 p. Cts., July 11, 66.20	—		

#### SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for Week ending Friday Evening.

RAILWAYS.		BANKS.	
Aberdeen . . .	11	Australasian . . .	39½
Bristol and Exeter . .	85½	British North American	45
Caledonian . . .	15½	Colonial . . .	—
Eastern Counties . .	67	Commercial of London . .	25½
Edinburgh and Glasgow	28	London and Westminster	30
Great Northern . . .	18½	London Joint Stock . .	18½
Great S. & W. (Ireland)	36½	National of Ireland . .	—
Great Western . . .	85	National Provincial . .	—
Lancashire and Yorkshire	60½	Provincial of Ireland . .	41
Lancaster and Carlisle .	—	Union of Australia . .	35½
London, Brighton, & S. Coast	98½	Union of London . .	14½
London and Blackwall .	61		
London and N.-Western	115		
Midland . . .	55½	Bolano . . .	—
North British . . .	64	Brazilian Imperial . .	19
South-Eastern and Dover	—	Ditto, St. John del Rey .	34½
South-Western . . .	—	Cobre Copper . . .	—
York, Newcas., & Berwick	17½		
York and North Midland	21½		
DOCKS.		MISCELLANEOUS.	
East and West India . .	143	Australian Agricultural	15
London . . .	116	Canada . . .	49½
St. Katharine . . .	79	General Steam . . .	27½
		Penins. & Oriental Steam	75½
		Royal Mail Steam . .	75½
		South Australian . .	22

#### CORN EXCHANGE.

MARK-LANE, January 23.—Supplies continue short, and both continental and country advices all firm, and in most cases dearer for all articles. Our local market today is dearer for everything except Egyptian Beans, of which there are some quantity for sale, ex ship at the moment. No great business has been done to-day; but in the present state of stocks no one cares to sell. Holders of Floating Cargoes ask very high prices, and an advance of 6d. has been paid on Egyptian Wheat. Maize is a ready sale at 27s. 6d. for Straits, and 29s. for Galatz. Prices asked, 28s. and 29s. 6d. There are twenty vessels reported at Cork and Falmouth since Monday, of which five are Wheat, ten Maize, five Beans. Of these, most of the Wheat and Maize are sold. There are two or three cargoes of Beans for sale.

Arrivals from January 19 to January 21.

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat . . .	1260	—	2200
Barley . . .	2420	—	—
Oats . . .	700	290	580
Flour . . .	1140	—	—



GRAIN, Mark-lane, Jan. 23.			
Wheat, R. New.	38s. to 40s.	30s. to 32s.	
White	40	30	32
Old	40	30	32
White	41	30	32
Old	41	30	32
Superior New	45	30	32
Superior Old	45	30	32
Barley	30	28	20
Malt, Ord.	30	28	20
Peas, Hog.	27	28	20

## GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN

WEEK ENDING JAN. 17.			
Imperial General Weekly Average.			
Wheat	38s. 3d.	37s. 5d.	
Barley	27 1	27 11	
Oats	18 1	18 10	
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.			
Wheat	37s. 6d.	37s. 10d.	
Barley	26 6	26 11	
Oats	18 1	18 11	

## BUTCHERS' MEAT.

NEWCASTLE AND LEADENHALL.*			
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Beef	2 6 to 3 4	3 6 to 3 10	
Mutton	2 8	3 4	4 4
Veal	0 4	0 3	0 4
Pork	2 8	3 0	3 10

\* To sink the offal, per 8lb.

## HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

	Friday.	Monday.
Beasts	750	3638
Sheep	2730	22,270
Cattle	148	174
Pigs	310	280

## FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, January 20.

**BANKRUPT.**—F. R. HEWLETT, Leyton, Essex, cowkeeper, to surrender January 31, March 11; solicitor, Mr. Butler, jun., Tooley-street, Southwark; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Aldermanbury—G. COLLIER, Landport, Hampshire, draper, January 30, March 11; solicitor, Messrs. Sole, Turner, and Alderson, Aldermanbury; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Basinghall-street—G. MARSH, Church-street, Minorities, carpenter, February 4, March 3; solicitors, Messrs. Marten, Thomas, and Hollams, Mincing-lane; official assignee, Mr. Graham—R. YOUNGMAN, late of Waterbeach, Cambridgeshire, miller, January 31, February 28; solicitors, Messrs. J. and C. Cole, Adelphi-terrace, Strand; and Mr. Pike, Old Burlington-street; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—J. AVERY, Chelmsford, hotel keeper, February 3, March 2; solicitors, Messrs. J. and J. Linklater, Sise-lane, Bucklebury; official assignee, Mr. Edwards, Sambrook-court, Basinghall-street—J. POTTER, Birmingham, mill manufacturer, January 31, February 21; solicitors, Messrs. Duignan and Hemmatt, Walsall, and Mr. Smith, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Whitmore, Birmingham—W. HAYWOOD, Birmingham, grocer, January 31, February 21; solicitors, Messrs. Eysland and Martineau, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Bittleston, Birmingham—J. KETTON, Middlesbrough, Yorkshire, grocer, January 30, March 3; solicitors, Messrs. Tolson, Clough, and Taylor, Bradford, and Mr. Black-burn, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Young, Leeds—J. O'DONNELL, Sheffield, grocer, February 7, March 6; solicitor, Mr. Fretwell, Sheffield; official assignee, Mr. Freeman, Sheffield—MARTIN KELL, Liverpool, coffeehouse keeper, February 21, March 2; solicitors, Messrs. H. and J. Forsyth, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Morgan, Liverpool—R. H. BELL and E. BELL, South Shields, paper manufacturers, February 4, March 3; solicitors, Messrs. Lawrence, Crowdy, and Bowley, Old Fish-street, Doctors'-commons, and Messrs. Griffith and Crighton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; official assignee, Mr. Wakley, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Friday, January 23.

**BANKRUPT.**—W. D. PRITCHARD and D. PRITCHARD, High-street, St. Marylebone, coach-smiths, to surrender February 2, March 3; solicitors, Messrs. Smith, Southampton-buildings, Holborn; official assignee, Mr. Stansfield—J. G. MARSH, Church-street, Minorities, carpenter, February 4, March 2; solicitors, Messrs. Marten, Thomas, and Hollams, Mincing-lane; official assignee, Mr. Graham—T. HARRIS and J. BURNS, Hampstead-road, brewers, January 31, March 6; solicitors, Messrs. Reed, Langford, and Marsden, Friday-street, Chesham; official assignee, Mr. Cannan, Aldermanbury—G. POTTER, Grosvener-basin, Pimlico, and Woulham and Burham, Kent, lime-burner, February 6, March 20; solicitor, Mr. Matthews, Arthur-street West, London-bridge; official assignee, Mr. Pennell, Guildhall-chambers, Basinghall-street—G. FLINT, Lombard-street, hosiery, February 5, March 4; solicitors, Messrs. Goddard and Eyre, Wood-street, Chesham; official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street—F. LONG, Vere-street, importer of foreign lace, February 5, March 2; solicitors, Messrs. Reed, Langford, and Marsden, Friday-street, Chesham; official assignee, Mr. Groom, Abchurch-lane, Lombard-street—T. FOOTMAN, Wolverhampton, huckster, February 9, March 3; solicitors, Mr. Smith, Walsall, and Mr. James, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham—J. HURLEY, Birmingham, linendraper, February 10, March 8; solicitors, Messrs. Depree, Lawrence-lane, Chesham, and Messrs. Motteran, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham—R. S. JAMES, Leeds, wholesale ironmonger, February 5, March 4; solicitors, Mr. Benson, Birmingham; and Messrs. Courtenay and Compton, Leeds; official assignee, Mr. Young, Leeds—W. BELSHAW, Manchester, joiner, February 9, March 9; solicitor, Mr. Rowley, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Pott, Manchester—J. H. GILLAM, Liverpool, commission merchant, February 5, March 5; solicitor, Mr. Greatly, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Bird, Liverpool.

**DR. CULVERWELL ON NERVOUSNESS, DEBILITY, AND INDIGESTION;** also on Urinary Derangements, Constipation, and Hemorrhoids. 1s. each; by post, 1s. 6d.

## WHAT TO EAT, DRINK, AND AVOID.

"Abstinencia multi curantur morbi."  
A popular exposition of the principal causes (over an careless feeding, &c.) of the above harassing and distressing complaints, with an equally intelligible and popular exposition of how we should live to get rid of them; to which is added diet tables for every meal in the day, and full instructions for the regimen and observance of every hour out of the twenty-four: illustrated by numerous cases, &c.

Vols. 2 and 3, companions to the preceding, THE ENJOYMENT OF LIFE. HOW TO BE HAPPY. "Jucunde Vivere."

IV.

**ON URINARY DISORDERS, CONSTIPATION, AND HÆMORRHOIDS;** their Obviation and Removal. Sherwood, 23, Paternoster-row; Mann, 39, Cornhill; and the Author, 10, Argyll-place, Regent-street: consultation hours, ten to twelve; evenings, seven till nine.

Now ready, price 9d., Part II. of

## LOW WAGE S.

**CONTENTS.**—What does not regulate Wages. The Wage Law of the Economists considered. By HENRY MAYHEW, Author of "London Labour and the London Poor," &c. &c. &c.

Published at the Office of "London Labour," 16, Upper Wellington-street, Strand; M'Glashan, Dublin; J. Menais, Edinburgh; T. Murray and Son, Glasgow.

## GRATIS WITH THE "DISPATCH."

The Second Distribution of the Illustrated Coloured Chart of the Great Exhibition will take place on Sunday, the 1st of February, on which day all persons who were disappointed in receiving a copy of this highly-interesting statistical document may secure it by giving orders to the Newsvendors in town and country or by forwarding them to the Dispatch Office, 139, Fleet-street. This highly-finished Chart shows by diagrams, in different colours, and at one view, the number of persons who, daily, during a period of five months, visited the Crystal Palace; the amount of money taken at the doors, and derived from various sources; and other valuable statistics. It is surmounted with an Engraved View of the Building, and has been prepared by Corporals A. Gardner and J. Mack, of the Royal Sappers and Miners, and copied, by permission of the Royal Commissioners, for the "Weekly Dispatch."

In consequence of the expected large demand for the Chart, over and above the enormous issue on the 4th of January, it is earnestly requested that all Orders may be sent in at the earliest possible period.

## CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY, INSTITUTED UNDER TRUST, TO COUNTERACT THE SYSTEM OF ADULTERATION AND FRAUD NOW PREVAILING IN TRADE, AND TO PROMOTE THE PRINCIPLE OF CO-OPERATIVE ASSOCIATION.

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The Agency intend hereafter to execute all orders for any kind of articles or produce; their operations for the present are restricted to GROCERIES, ITALIAN ARTICLES, FRENCH WINES, and BRANDED.

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